

PATHWAYS TO HOUSING SECURITY YEAR 2 REPORT DECEMBER 2022

**Prepared For: Washington State Governor
and Legislature**

WASHINGTON STATE UNIVERSITY

THE WILLIAM D. RUCKELSHAUS CENTER

UNIVERSITY OF WASHINGTON

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The William D. Ruckelshaus Center (Center), in partnership with Washington State University's Division of Governmental Studies and Services (DGSS), is pleased to submit the second report on activities specified in Section 6 of Engrossed Second Substitute House Bill 1277. The purpose set forth by the Legislature is to:

- Explore and identify trends affecting and policies guiding the housing and services provided to individuals and families who are, or at risk of, homelessness in Washington State; and
- Facilitate meetings and discussions to develop options and recommendations for a long-term strategy and implementation steps to improve services and outcomes for persons at risk of or experiencing homelessness and to develop pathways to permanent housing solutions.

During the early part of 2022, the Ruckelshaus Center reviewed relevant background documents, conducted consultations with facilitation design experts and experts in housing policy and implementation of housing assistance, and recruited and onboarded three additional team members to expand our capacity in project design, facilitation, and project management. That work informed our development of guiding questions for interviews and discussions with leaders across diverse sectors working to address homelessness and housing instability. These interviews and discussions were specifically designed to gain insight for the next phase of facilitated discussions and gather insights on opportunities and desired principles for sustained progress towards housing stability. As we finish up the 2022 year, we have worked to synthesize the information gathered through interviews and have begun the process of designing facilitated discussions.

In parallel to these efforts, DGSS took a deep dive into the literature surrounding root causes of homelessness and housing instability. This work has continued to be conducted by faculty and graduate students at Washington State University. DGSS and the Center have continued to coordinate and assess how the information gathered by both teams could continue to inform the efforts of each other.

As we enter 2023, we will continue to involve individuals with various roles and responsibilities in the areas of homelessness and housing insecurity and will convene facilitated discussions to identify options and recommendations necessary for a long-term strategy to improve services and outcomes for persons at risk or experiencing homelessness. A final report on such efforts and stakeholder conversations will be submitted by December 1, 2023.

We appreciate the opportunity to serve the State of Washington and will continue to keep representatives from the Governor's Office and Legislative staff informed throughout this process. We welcome questions and input from the Governor and Legislature at any time.

Sincerely,

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Executive Summary

This report was prepared to satisfy the second reporting requirement under Section 6 of House Bill 1277 (HB 1277). The overall goal of HB 1277, Section 6 is to engage in a multi-year endeavor to identify the nature and scope of housing instability and homelessness in Washington, develop a shared information base, and engage key entities in the development of options and recommendations for a long-term strategy to improve services and outcomes and develop a path to permanent housing solutions. The issue of homelessness and housing instability is complex, multi-faceted, and historically contextualized. To understand the issue and identify how to respond requires attention to the social and political landscape and the various structural challenges that have influenced this arena. The William D. Ruckelshaus Center has partnered with Washington State University Extension's Division of Governmental Studies and Services to form a multi-disciplinary team to meet the expectations outlined in HB 1277, Section 6.

This second report describes our progress in 2022 toward the ultimate objective of identifying desired principles, options, and recommendations for a long-term strategy to improve housing security in Washington State. The first update is on the status of fact-finding, with findings from the literature on the factors that contribute to homelessness, a current snapshot of the scope of intervention strategies in Washington, and a broad overview of the relevant policy and regulatory landscape. The second update is on the status of stakeholder discussions. This provides key themes emerging from interviews so far about what facilitated discussions, with whom, and around which areas of concerns and opportunities would be most useful in 2023.

Four major takeaways are worth highlighting. The first is a shift away from seeking to identify and isolate a shortlist of 'root' causes of homelessness and create approaches accordingly. Rather, the need is to design a strategy that considers both the multiple known contributing factors and the compounding ways in which they interact to affect entry into and exit from homelessness, as well as patterns of homelessness in communities. This shift emerged in our interviews with stakeholders and is also reflected in the shift in research on the causes of homelessness, which increasingly acknowledges that there is not one single cause—rather, homelessness is the result of a collection of intertwined structural and individual factors that interact in a given time period and location.

Another major takeaway is a clear picture of the many interdependent pieces that make up the housing assistance landscape in Washington State. The systems, services, and providers that contribute to housing assistance are situated in various, sometimes disparate contexts. A wide range of services are relevant and needed, but are implemented in various settings, by practitioners from many disciplines, funded through multiple governmental and nongovernmental sources, and operating under the management or regulatory oversight of diverse agencies with varying policies, incentives, and constraints. As a result, achieving

coherence is challenging, and efforts to address homelessness and housing instability are often siloed and fragmented.

Layering these two takeaways within the concept of housing security becomes even more complex. Housing needs are often thought of in categories, for example: emergency shelter, supportive housing, transitional housing, affordable housing, the real estate market. However, most stakeholders describe housing security as a continuum, and effective programs or policies in any of the categories ultimately depend on the state of the rest of the categories. Emergency shelter is temporary by design but serves that function well only if there is a connection to affordable permanent housing options, for which availability is affected by the housing market, which shifts alongside patterns of growth and the economy.

Third, the insights shared by interviewees helped elucidate that many of the components needed in a long-term strategy have aspects that are in tension with each other. Navigating those tensions is necessary for a coherent, effective, and widely accepted strategy. Illuminating and grappling with tensions in complex issues can create dynamic energy, supply diversity of thought, and bring focus to the areas that have the most potential to produce meaningful change. These tensions could be areas of opportunity if the discourse shifts away from treating them as discrete and opposing choices (e.g., right or wrong; most or least important). A more constructive view would be to recognize them as coexisting, interconnected considerations that reveal a continuum of options. A productive discourse can consider what adjustments to the balance between and among them is needed to better address homelessness and housing instability.

Finally, a cumulative takeaway is that the interview insights so far have begun to identify and clarify what conditions would be needed in order to formulate and implement a long-term strategy to make sustained progress towards housing security in Washington State. These conditions include grappling with central tensions, recognizing a holistic and complex view of the issues, adopting a systems lens that takes into account inherent interdependencies, cultivating a shared foundational understanding, identifying guiding principles, and building and sustaining trusting relationships. Tending to these conditions will make it possible to develop a strategy that provides a coherent framework in which to formulate, assess, and adapt actions over time that can work in combination – and risk failing in isolation.

We are now turning our efforts to the work we have planned for 2023. We will continue to employ multiple methodologies in an iterative approach. Using the available knowledge base and broadening our facilitated discussions, we will identify desired principles, options, and recommendations for a long-term strategy, with clarity about the degree of convergence across the various sources of information we have gathered. We anticipate that in our final report in December 2023 we will be able to include guiding principles; potential components for a long-term strategy, with ways to guide investment decisions and ways to assess whether those investments are contributing to the desired results; tangible next steps needed to develop such a strategy; and areas that will benefit from continuous engagement to build and act on collaborative knowledge.

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I. Introduction

In recent decades, Washington State has faced an increasingly complex and multi-faceted challenge as patterns of housing instability and homelessness have increased. Recognizing the need for a long-term approach to this challenge, in House Bill 1277, Section 6, the Washington State Legislature called for a multi-year effort of fact-finding and stakeholder discussions to explore the nature and scope of housing instability and homelessness in Washington with the ultimate purpose of identifying options and recommendations for a strategy to improve services and outcomes and develop paths to permanent housing solutions (see Appendix A for Section 6 in its entirety). The William D. Ruckelshaus Center (the Center) and Washington State University Extension's Division of Governmental Studies and Services (DGSS) have partnered to carry out this project (see Appendix B for more information about the Center and DGSS).

The first of three requested reports, delivered in December 2021, laid the foundation for this undertaking. It summarized the historical chronology of housing and homelessness in the United States; presented the social, economic, political, and ideological forces that have influenced housing intervention policy; provided an overview of recent trends in homelessness and housing assistance in Washington State; synthesized patterns and themes from initial stakeholder discussions; and laid out a framework for carrying out the remaining work. That report, *Pathways to Housing Security: Phase 1 Report*, is available [here](#)¹.

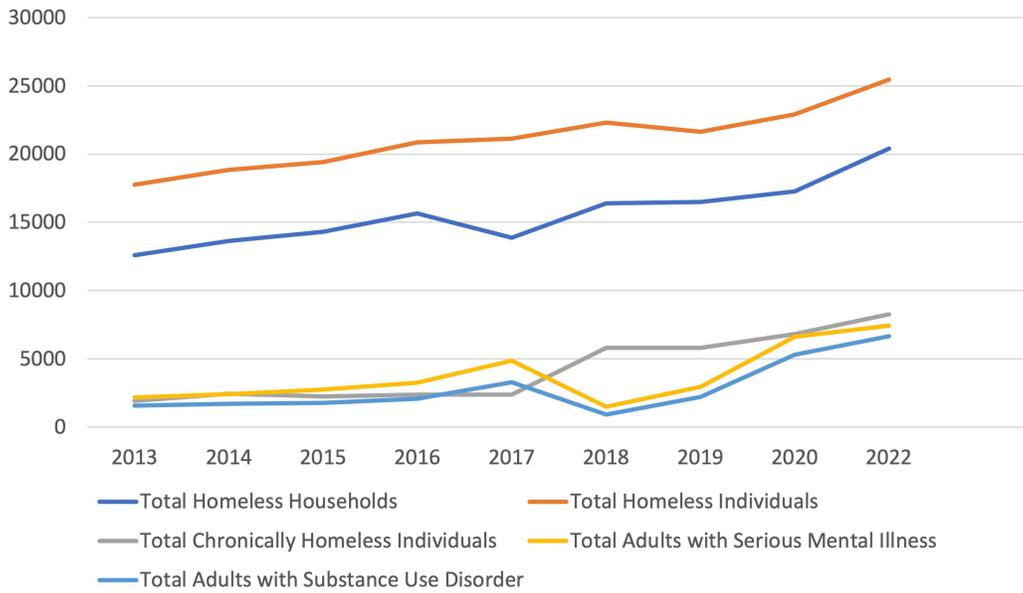
This second report provides a brief update on the current context of homelessness in Washington State, and then describes progress in conducting the requested fact-finding and stakeholder discussions. These updates are followed by an overview of plans for the final phase of the project, which will culminate in a final report in December 2023.

Update on Homelessness in Washington

Since our last report, patterns of increasing homelessness in Washington State have continued. As shown in Figure 1, current Washington Point in Time (PIT) count data reflect an overall upward trend in recent years that has continued into 2022 (Washington State Department of Commerce, 2022). The annual PIT count is a nationwide accounting of sheltered and unsheltered people experiencing homelessness on one night in late January. There are limitations to this method because of the transitory nature of most experiences of homelessness (Lee et al., 2021; Shinn & Khadduri, 2020). Although the count data may not reflect the complete number of persons experiencing homelessness, the systematic and longitudinal nature of this data collection does provide for the assessment of trends across location and over time.

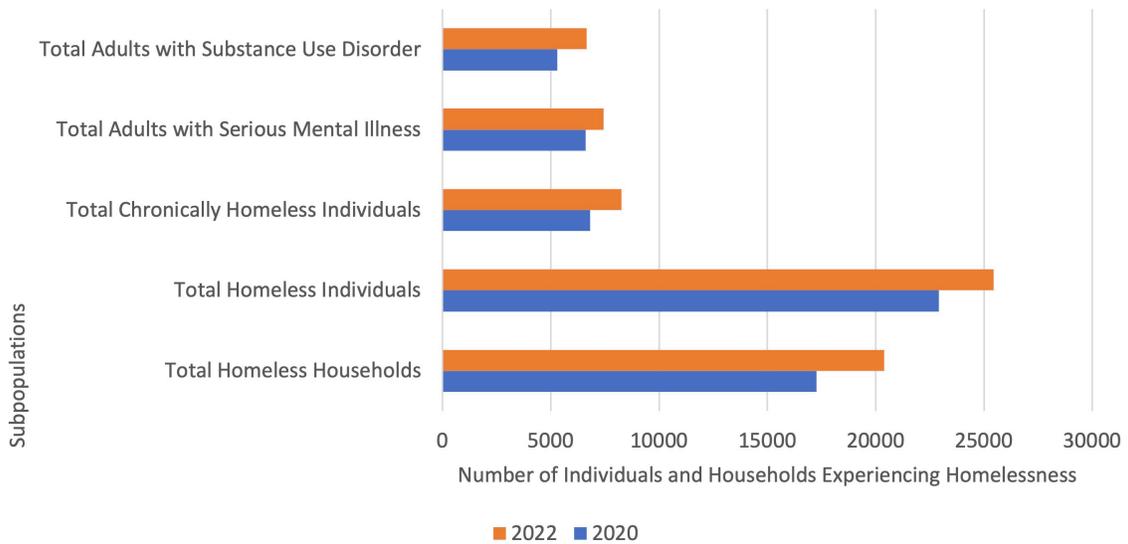
¹ <https://s3.wp.wsu.edu/uploads/sites/2180/2021/12/Pathways-to-Housing-Security-Report-FINAL.pdf>

Figure 1. Washington PIT Count Data, Statewide 2013 to 2022



From 2020 to 2022² the statewide count of individuals experiencing homelessness increased from 22,923 individuals in 2020 to 25,452 individuals in 2022. Figure 2 presents statewide increases from 2020 to 2022 in the counts for specific subsets of those experiencing homelessness from 2020 to 2022. The subset of unsheltered homelessness increased 16% from 10,814 in 2020 to 12,909 in 2021.

Figure 2. Washington PIT Count Data, Statewide Homelessness 2020 – 2022³

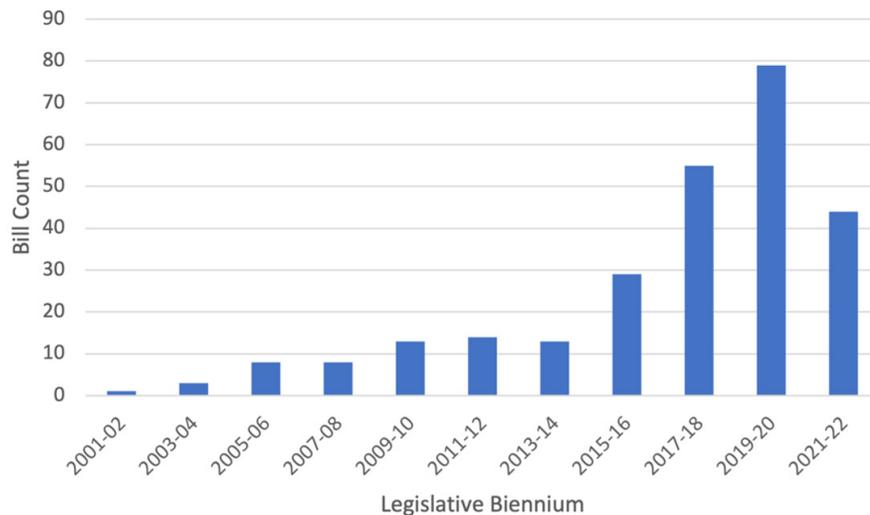


² Annual PIT count data on the number of individuals experiencing unsheltered homelessness were not collected for 2021 because of the COVID-19 pandemic. <https://www.commerce.wa.gov/ofah-blog/2021-point-in-time-count/>

³ For more detail on PIT count data collection methodology in this timeframe, see. <https://www.commerce.wa.gov/ofah-blog/2021-point-in-time-count/>

As homelessness has increased in Washington State, the legislative response has also increased. As shown in Figure 3, in the last two decades, the overall trend has been an increase in proposed legislation associated with the descriptive tag “Homeless Persons” (<https://app.leg.wa.gov/billinfo/>). There was a peak in the 2019-2020 sessions, in part due to legislative activity in response to the COVID-19 pandemic.

Figure 3. Legislative Activity Related to “Homeless Persons:” Bills Proposed from 2001-2022



Ongoing Context of the Pandemic

In House Bill 1277, Section 6 the Legislature recognized the important context of the COVID-19 pandemic as a major event that has both exacerbated and shed new light on the state’s challenges with homelessness and housing instability. Indeed, the events since 2020 continue to make an already concerning housing situation worse. Early in the pandemic, public health mitigation strategies like stay-at-home orders and social distancing requirements initiated a cascade of business closings and employment layoffs, which produced widescale economic slowdown, despite government efforts to alleviate these burdens. The collective aftermath of the pandemic has destabilized social, economic, and health conditions across the country (Abrams et al., 2021) and this has been exacerbated for those experiencing homelessness. A growing body of empirical research has begun to illuminate these negative outcomes (see Baggett et al., 2020; Rodriguez et al., 2021; MPharm et al., 2021). The pandemic has also had effects on housing assistance and related services across the entire housing continuum (e.g., Jang et al., 2021; Pixley et al., 2022; Rodriguez et al., 2021). Public health considerations surrounding COVID transmission complicated the logistics of how emergency shelter and other housing services were provided. Social distancing requirements limited shelter capacity and some jurisdictions shifted away from the use of congregate shelter settings in favor of other housing options, such as hotels. Additional policies, such as mortgage and eviction moratoriums attempted to blunt the adverse consequences of COVID on housing security, but the very nature of the pandemic further stressed existing weaknesses in an already precarious housing system. The pandemic also

affected geographic patterns in housing economies, for example as remote workers migrated from metropolitan city centers to smaller, less populated locations, which affected those local housing economies.

Much of the recent political messaging has been positive in terms of economic recovery, though official data illustrates that vulnerability to homelessness has persisted (e.g., Versey, 2021). In fact, a look at the post-pandemic economic landscape presents a narrative of continued hardship for many individuals and families. Specifically, data for the previous year have revealed an 8.5% increase in the price of consumer goods, nationally. There has also been a significant increase in mortgage rates, fuel prices, and food costs—collectively increasing the financial burden for millions of US households (Washington State Economic and Revenue Forecast Council, 2022)⁴. Washington State has reported similar trends. According to the Washington State Employment Security Department, employment in Washington has returned to pre-pandemic levels⁵ and indicators report strong economic recovery⁶, though there has been a 25% increase in median home prices⁷, and only negligible increases in wages and household income among Washingtonians during this same time⁸. Put differently, employment rates have increased in the last year but so has the cost of living and this has not been alleviated by commensurate increases in the wages and income necessary to sustain and support the housing needs of many families. Research has highlighted gaps in housing vulnerability by race, ethnicity, and socioeconomic status where BIPOC have been disproportionately impacted (Shinn, 2007; 2010). These demographic characteristics have also been correlated with low-wage labor and lower income—those employment sectors most significantly affected by the pandemic (Gemelas et al., 2022).

Toward a Long-Term Strategy for Housing Security

The following sections of this document describe our progress in 2022 toward the ultimate objective of identifying options and recommendations for a long-term strategy to improve housing security in Washington State. The first update is on the status of fact-finding, with findings from a literature review on the causes and contributing factors of homelessness, a current snapshot of the scope of intervention strategies in Washington, and a broad overview of the relevant policy and regulatory landscape. The second update is on the status of stakeholder discussions. This provides key themes emerging from interviews so far about what engagement, with whom, and around which areas of concerns and opportunities would be most useful in our subsequent facilitated discussions that will be designed to identify desired principles, options, and recommendations for a long-term strategy. We then close with an overview of the work planned for the next year, which will culminate in a final report in December 2023.

⁴ <https://erfc.wa.gov/sites/default/files/public/documents/publications/nov22.pdf>

⁵ <https://esd.wa.gov/labormarketinfo/monthly-employment-report>

⁶ CNBC's annual report ranked Washington State as second in the nation for business (<https://www.cnbc.com/2022/07/13/top-states-for-business-washington.html>)

⁷ <https://ofm.wa.gov/washington-data-research/statewide-data/washington-trends/economic-trends/median-home-price>

⁸ <https://ofm.wa.gov/washington-data-research/statewide-data/washington-trends/economic-trends/washington-and-us-average-wages>

II. Status of Fact-Finding

Overview

The status of fact-finding reported here is organized into three sections: 1) findings from a review of empirical literature on the factors that interact to produce homelessness, 2) descriptive statistics on the current scope of homelessness intervention strategies in Washington, and 3) an overview of the policy and regulatory landscape as it relates to homelessness and housing assistance in Washington.

Defining Homelessness

Changing perceptions of homelessness, including ideas surrounding its causes, have been reflected in the definitions used to understand and address the issue. An overview of established definitions related to homelessness are included here to contextualize our work. “Literal homelessness” (Rossi, 1989), adopted by the Department of Housing and Urban Development (§ 578.3), has been defined as a situation where an individual “lack[s] a fixed, regular, and adequate nighttime residence” to include living in a publicly available shelter, on the streets, in a vehicle, in a public space, or in a place not intended for human habitation (also Tsemberis, 2010). This differs from “precariously housed” which represents a situation where an individual (or household) may have access to a conventional home, but is not able to stay there (Rossi, 1989). The term “chronically homeless” (e.g., Kuhn & Culhane, 1998) has been used to refer to individuals who have experienced repeated periods of homelessness and have been diagnosed with behavioral health problems. This term has been adopted by HUD to define eligibility, in a variation that specifies persons who have a documented, qualifying disability⁹. In federal and Washington State PIT count reports, the term “unsheltered” is used to identify individuals or families living outside or in a place not suitable for human habitation, and “sheltered” are those individuals or families who are living in a publicly or privately operated shelter that has been designed to provide temporary accommodation.

Conceptual distinctions that define the conditions of experiencing homelessness (literal homelessness, precariously housed, chronically homeless and living with a disability, unsheltered/sheltered homelessness) differ from categories that describe the pattern or type of homelessness in the context of a housing trajectory. The latter refers to homelessness that is episodic, transitory, or chronic where each type has distinct characteristics in terms of frequency and duration. Individuals classified as chronic based on the persistence and long duration of their experience of homelessness may not necessarily have a diagnosis or qualifying disability, but those in this category are most often in need of mental health and substance use disorder treatment, compared to other persons experiencing homelessness.

⁹ <https://www.hudexchange.info/homelessness-assistance/coc-esg-virtual-binders/coc-esg-homeless-eligibility/definition-of-chronic-homelessness/>

They also tend to be the most visible (e.g., encampments, vehicle residents) and the most responsive to interventions that provide fully supportive or permanent supportive housing (Aubry et al., 2020).

In contrast, approximately 75% of homelessness in the US is more transitory and episodic. This means that an individual or household reports an episode of homelessness in an otherwise relatively stable housing trajectory, rather than a pattern of unsheltered homelessness that has persisted in duration. The distinctions among chronic, transitory, and episodic homelessness are important because the factors that contribute to homelessness for a given individual or household have varied by the type of homelessness that the person or family is experiencing. Additionally, an individual or family may shift from being housed to unhoused multiple times as the result of adversarial life events or correlated adversity (Western et al. 2015), amplified in the absence of strong social support. Indeed, most individuals and families are one or two adverse life events away from experiencing homelessness and this is important in terms of identifying the factors that undermine housing stability.

What are the “Root Causes” of Homelessness?

In House Bill 1277, Section 6, the Legislature recognizes that there are many causes of homelessness and housing instability. The legislation calls for this work to examine those causes in a way that will help result in a widely accepted strategy for how best to respond to homelessness in ways that address the “root causes” of the problem. The research on the causes of homelessness is expansive. As detailed in our [previous report](#)¹⁰, the issue of homelessness is multi-faceted, historically contextualized, and complex. In fact, the study of homelessness has been influenced by the US social, economic, and political climate where socially constructed ideologies have shaped the way researchers have explained homelessness in some of the same ways that those ideologies have shaped policymakers’ responses to homelessness.

Considerable effort has been devoted toward understanding the root causes or antecedents of homelessness. From the late 1800s to the early 1960s, homelessness was largely perceived as an indicator of *individual* weakness, and so explanations of homelessness were dominated by a focus on individual circumstances and behavior—which easily translated to blaming an individual’s personal failures. The mid-20th century saw a major shift in terms of explanations for a variety of human behaviors, and these changing ideologies influenced the scholarship on homeless antecedents. Beginning in the 1960s and 1970s, root causes of homelessness were understood in terms of *structural* inequalities, like poverty, economic volatility, social exclusion, and other systemic factors. The late 1980s to the mid-2000s saw yet another shift in ideology toward explanations of homelessness that drew on concepts surrounding individual disease and disability (Gowen, 2010). From a policy standpoint, there was a concurrent emphasis on interventions at the individual level. But increased patterns of homelessness

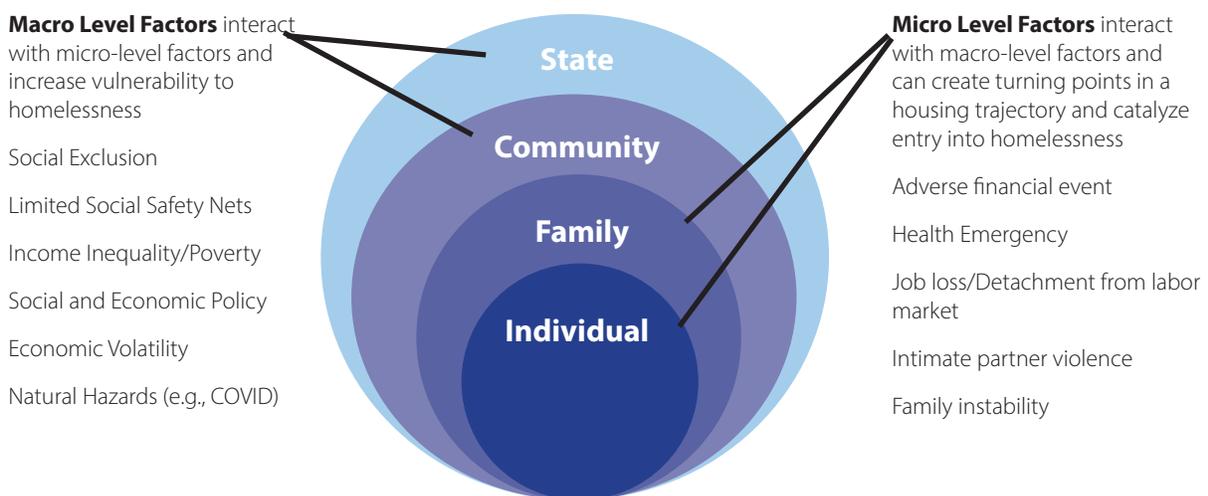
¹⁰ <https://s3.wp.wsu.edu/uploads/sites/2180/2021/12/Pathways-to-Housing-Security-Report-FINAL.pdf>

beginning in the 1980s have illustrated that prevailing wisdom has not been sufficient to explain the current state of homelessness¹¹.

THE MACRO-MICRO FRAMEWORK

Researchers have most recently adopted a more holistic view of homelessness that considers the compounding ways macro-level structural conditions interact with each other and amplify micro-level individual risk to produce patterns of homelessness. After nearly a century of study, scholars have come to a general consensus around the framework that homelessness has been the consequence of macro *and* micro “enduring and evolving” factors (Giano et al., 2020, p. 694). This is illustrated in Figure 4. Even as this framework for understanding has taken hold, the causes of homelessness often continue to be discussed in terms of singular factors that explain how a person or family becomes homeless (e.g., substance use disorder *or* unemployment *or* limited available affordable housing units *or* social exclusion). The reality of homelessness is much more convoluted. There is not one single cause—rather, homelessness is the result of a collection of intertwined structural and individual factors that *interact* in a given time period and location. Housing intervention strategies that center on a single factor or a few discrete factors (without consideration for the ways factors are nested) have consistently failed to *prevent* or *mitigate* homelessness (Shinn, 2008). Indeed, there are no simple explanations for homelessness-- talking about the “root causes” may not capture the complexity of how it is produced by multiple interacting factors.

Figure 4. *Interactions Among Macro- and Micro-Level Factors Contributing to Homelessness*



¹¹ Extensive scholarly research has noted the current state of homelessness is a relatively recent phenomenon with considerable increases and a significant change in the demographic profile of individuals and families experiencing homeless, beginning in the 1980s. This was described in more detail in our [previous report](#).

Macro-level factors are the conditions in a community or geographic location that have exacerbated homelessness (McChesney 1990, Shinn and Gillespie). The accumulation of these structural factors is what has produced such a considerable increase in homelessness patterns. There is utility in considering the contributions of structural factors when trying to understand where homelessness is most likely to occur. Community characteristics like limited affordable housing supply, poverty and income inequality, the societal exclusion of particular groups, and limited social welfare policies can foster disadvantage for everyone in a geographic location. However, not everyone living in communities characterized by these structural conditions will experience homelessness. The heterogeneity can be explained, in part, by variation in individual risk (a conceptualization that is distinct from individual behaviors or weaknesses). This variation in individual risk has, in some instances, been mitigated by structural interventions such as more expansive social policies or resources that provide a social safety net. The most recent research has suggested that perhaps the keystone for explaining the cascade of events that has produced rising patterns of homelessness involves a community's affordable housing supply, and even this is conditioned by other factors.

While structural factors, such as lack of affordable housing and income inequality, have been linked to homelessness, micro-level factors are associated with an increased vulnerability to homelessness for certain families and individuals. These vulnerabilities produce different pathways into homelessness (Anderson & Christian, 2003; Lee et al., 2010; Barile et al., 2018), and lead to differences in service use and needs (Barile et al., 2020). Existing research on homelessness has been criticized for focusing on macro-level factors and insufficiently accounting for the complex interactions between the structural and individual factors that have produced homelessness (Clapham, 2003; Anderson & Christian, 2003; Shinn, 2007; Lee et al., 2010). Similarly, addressing homelessness requires attention to the interactions between structural factors and the individual factors that make some more vulnerable to experiencing homelessness.

The Macro-Micro framework is fruitful for understanding the complexity of how individual risk is nested within structural disadvantage and how macro- and micro-level factors interact to increase homelessness (e.g., Shinn et al., 2021). For example, all families who face sudden job loss are at risk of experiencing homelessness, but families living in a community where there are no affordable housing options have been more likely to experience homelessness compared to the same family residing in a community where there are affordable housing options (Byrne et al., 2012; Hanratty, 2017). When there is significant income inequality in a community, higher income families who can afford to pay more for housing can outcompete families with fewer financial resources, leaving lower resourced families with no affordable housing options. In these situations, the conditions of the community (affordable housing supply and levels of income inequality) exacerbate the effect of unemployment for families and increase their odds of experiencing homelessness. In contrast, communities with less

income inequality and more affordable housing will better insulate at-risk households from homelessness. Further, more expansive social welfare policies can mitigate homelessness risk by providing resources and support to families in the face of adverse life events. For example, a family who has just experienced sudden job loss and has been priced out of housing options in their community by higher wage earners could benefit from cash rental assistance or other support resources to keep them housed.

The following sections provide further detail on contributing factors that have been studied as homeless antecedents or “root causes” in the empirical social science research. The major factors that contribute to homelessness are reviewed in four general categories: 1) available affordable housing, 2) poverty, 3) care and support, and 4) systematic disadvantage and societal exclusion. Distinguishing between macro-level and micro-level factors can be difficult as some factors fit in both categories (Clapham, 2003). Although we present the factors that contribute to homelessness in discrete categories, we do so with the caveat that housing instability is the result of a cascade of events across a lengthy housing trajectory influenced by both proximal antecedents and broader structural conditions. Throughout, we use the Macro-Micro conceptual framework to discuss how structural conditions overlap across these categories and interact to amplify individual risk.

AVAILABLE AFFORDABLE HOUSING

If staying housed requires housing, then the available housing stock in a community is an important consideration for explaining homelessness. An accumulation of research in this area has established a direct relationship between the number of housing units available to accommodate individuals in a population and the number of those individuals that will be housed (McChesney, 1990; Shinn & Gillespie, 1994). The number of housing units, however, has not been sufficient to independently predict homelessness—the cost of that housing also matters (Elliot & Krivo, 1991; O’Flaherty, 2004; Smith, 2020). In their extensive review of homeless antecedents, Shinn and Khadduri (2020) argue that the availability of affordable housing is the linchpin for addressing homelessness. There has been substantial evidence to support this claim in the US (Lee et al., 2010; Lutz & Buechler, 2021) and internationally (Bramley & Fitzpatrick, 2018; Johnson et al., 2019; Szeintuch, 2017). There are a finite number of options for housing in any given community and the availability of housing (e.g., vacancy rate) is contingent on the relationship between supply (e.g., the number of homes) and demand (e.g., the number of people seeking housing). When housing prices are inflated, fewer families can afford housing and this relationship has been confounded by regional variation in structural levels of income inequality (Byrne et al., 2021). According to Shinn and Khadduri (2020), “housing affordability is a joint function of housing prices and income” (p. 34).

The cost of housing has varied by broader market conditions; this has been complicated because homeownership in the United States has been commodified as an investment

(Doling, 1999; Rolnik, 2013). In fact, the purchase and sale of real property has been fundamental to the accumulation of wealth (Turner et al., 2009) and generational transmission of resources (Mulder & Smits, 1999). These divergent objectives (homeownership to increase wealth vs. homeownership to meet basic shelter needs) have had a direct impact on both: 1) supply and demand, and 2) inflated housing costs. From a macro-level perspective, when there are too few affordable dwellings in a community and more people than can be accommodated based on what is possible to afford, a shortage ensues and individuals are left without physical space to reside. Homelessness then, has increased when there are not enough affordable housing options and significant income inequality, discussed further below. Especially in places where these two structural factors converge, higher income households have easily outcompeted lower income households for the same housing inventory, which has excluded lower income families from the housing market (Kang, 2019). The research on housing affordability and homelessness has substantiated these findings.

POVERTY

Community Poverty

Data from official counts of homelessness have demonstrated a concentration of homelessness in more impoverished areas (Byrne et al., 2021), but this alone does not explain the geographic distribution of homelessness. Impoverished communities have been characterized by a concentration of low-wage job opportunities, higher unemployment rates, less social capital, and fewer community monetary resources (see e.g., Shinn and Kadduri, 2020). This collection of circumstances has tended to translate into geographic regions with depressed economic opportunity and limited options for social and economic mobility. Recent research has suggested that community economic conditions, such as poverty, have been linked with community homelessness rates (e.g., Hanratty, 2017), though general conclusions about the relationship between macro-level poverty and homelessness has suggested that the poverty rate has a distal impact on homelessness (Lee et al., 2021). To be sure, not everyone who resides in an impoverished community also experiences homelessness. At the structural level, there are additional considerations. Put simply, high poverty rates alone do not directly cause homelessness. Instead, impoverished communities may be more susceptible to patterns of greater homelessness, depending on variation in regional circumstances that may exacerbate or blunt these effects. Other structural factors have had a more substantial contribution in producing homelessness.

Income Inequality

Scholars have underscored the importance of income inequality in predicting US homelessness. Income inequality captures the uneven distribution of income in a population and highlights the income gap between the haves and the have-nots. In the US, this gap in income has steadily increased since the 1980s. In 2014, for example, people in the top 10% were earning more than 50% of the nation's income. This inequality has been important for

understanding the spatial distribution of homelessness, but this is also nuanced. The unequal distribution of income within a community matters more for explaining local patterns of homelessness than income inequality between different communities (Byrne et al., 2021). Within-city income inequality means there are substantial differences between high and low wage earners in one single community. Seattle, for example, has a median income of \$110,781 and the highest nationwide minimum wage. Even so, people in the top 20% earn about 18 times more than the least affluent households—those people in the bottom 20% (\$345,093 compared to \$18,840). Within-city income inequality is substantial. While Seattle would not be classified as resource-poor or “impoverished,” data from the US Department of Housing and Urban Development has indicated that Seattle has the third largest homeless population in the country. To explain the reasons for this burgeoning increase in homelessness, it is necessary to examine the interaction between income inequality and available affordable housing, discussed previously.

Poverty, Unemployment, and Income

Research has demonstrated that poverty and unemployment are significant individual risk factors for homelessness (Burt et al., 1999; Caton et al., 2005; Lee et al., 2010). For instance, job loss is a common contributing factor to homelessness (Caton et al., 2005; Doran et al., 2019; Shinn & Khadduri, 2020). In a study drawing on interviews with 31 emergency department patients who had become homeless in the last six months, job loss was identified as one of the most common factors contributing to homelessness in addition to lack of money and other factors (Doran et al., 2019). For many study participants, the job loss was the immediate event that led to homelessness, but was preceded by a series of confounding factors that ultimately, in combination, led to homelessness, including health conditions that contributed to unemployment and already being behind on rent (Doran et al., 2019). This further illustrates the complex dynamics of homelessness where a “sudden shock,” such as job loss, may be the “tipping point” to homelessness, but multiple conditions are interacting and ultimately produce homelessness (See Curtis et al. 2013; Shinn et al. 2021).

The relationship between poverty and homelessness begins early; childhood poverty has increased the likelihood of homelessness in adulthood (Koegel et al, 1995). The role of poverty as a risk factor for homelessness interacts with other factors that will be discussed further in the sections that follow. For example, in the absence of additional risk factors, people may avoid homelessness by relying on family and friends (Shinn & Khadduri, 2020). Past discrimination and exclusion lead to increased risk for Black individuals in poverty, while lack of family support may affect LGBTQ+ youth (Shinn & Khadduri, 2020).

CARE AND SUPPORT

Social Support Policy

Extensive research has established the importance of social policies that provide support for

individuals who may rely on this type of safety net for housing stability (see e.g., Burrows et al., 1997 for a review). This would include subsidized assistance for housing as well as other basic needs to mitigate individual vulnerability (Shlay & Rossi, 1992). Comparative analyses have reported that countries with more generous social welfare policies tend to have lower rates of homelessness (Benjaminsen & Andrade, 2015; O’Sullivan, 2010). These patterns have also been observed in single jurisdictions with policy changes over time (Anderson, 2004). As a structural predictor of homelessness, jurisdictions with policies that direct resources to help relieve social problems have reduced homelessness (Shinn & Khaddiri, 2020). These types of support policies extend beyond financial assistance, though monetary support during times of individual struggle is crucial for maintaining individual housing stability (Fisher & Collins, 2002). For example, homelessness may be prevented among families experiencing sudden job loss when eviction prevention assistance funds are available. Similarly, an individual with mental health treatment needs and a history of housing instability who has access to behavioral health care will be less likely to experience additional episodes of homelessness.

Family Instability

The absence of social support at multiple levels, from social policies to social support networks to families, can amplify vulnerability to homelessness. Family instability in particular has been well studied. In a review of forty years of homelessness research by Giano et al. (2020), family instability indicators were strongly associated with homelessness. The authors’ conceptualization of family instability included family structure items such as divorce and single parenthood, conflict within the family, and rejection. Family instability is an important risk factor in youth homelessness (Lipschutz, 1977; Lee et al., 2010; Catellanos, 2016; Embleton, 2016), Veteran homelessness (Hamilton et al., 2011; Tsai & Rosenheck, 2013), and women’s homelessness (often taking the form of intimate partner violence) (Kogel et al., 1995; Patterson et al., 2012). Family rejection specifically has been found to be the predominant factor contributing to LGBTQ+ youth homelessness (Rosario et al., 2012; Ecker & Sylvestre, 2019).

The ways in which family instability contribute to homelessness are complex. There are multiple potential indicators of family instability and some of these are strongly associated with homelessness for certain groups, such as intimate partner violence for women and family rejection for LGBTQ+ youth. Furthermore, factors related to family instability may be antecedents to other risks for homelessness. For instance, childhood abuse can lead to lower self-esteem, depression, and substance use (See Stein et al., 2002; Cicchetti & Handley, 2019) which are also linked to increased risk for homelessness. Thus, this vulnerability to homelessness begins early, with youth exposure to family violence preventing the development of an important safeguard from homelessness. However, family instability later in life can also affect risk for homelessness. Family instability weakens an important social support network that is essential, no matter what stage in life, for avoiding homelessness and lessening the duration of homelessness (Susser et al., 1991; Caton et al., 2005; Shinn et al., 2007; Shinn & Khadduri, 2020).

Health and Behavioral Health

The health and behavioral needs of individuals, and the extent to which those needs are met with access to care, is interrelated with their risk of homelessness in complex but highly visible ways. Even though most individuals experiencing homelessness do not have a mental illness nor do they engage in chronic substance use (HUD, 2021), both tend to be generally associated with homelessness. Studies have consistently found that mental illnesses and substance use are more prevalent among homeless populations (Scott, 1993; Lowe & Gibson, 2010). This association has prompted researchers to try to establish whether there is a causal relationship. While several studies find that mental illness causes homelessness (Bassuk et al., 1984; Rossi & Fowler, 1990; Folsom et al., 2005, Shelton et al., 2015), other research suggests that homelessness causes mental illness (Johnson & Chamberlain, 2016; Wasserman & Clair, 2010). A similar contradictory pattern is prevalent in research on substance use, as studies have found a link between substance use and homelessness entry and/or duration (Caton et al., 2005; O'Connell, 2008; Lee et al., 2010; Patterson et al., 2012), while others found that homelessness causes substance use (Johnson & Chamberlain, 2008). Other studies have found no relationship between mental illness and homelessness when controlling for other factors (See Shinn et al. 1998; Fertig & Reingold, 2008). While the causal relationship is unclear, the debate about it may be less useful than the recognition that both behavioral health outcomes and housing outcomes for individuals living with mental illness and substance use disorders intersect with structural factors such as the availability of and access to behavioral health care (Folsom 2005).

The contributing role of mental illness and substance use may be stronger for individuals in certain contexts, while still as an interaction with other factors. For instance, substance use, and mental illness, especially schizophrenia and bipolar disorder, are strongly and consistently associated with homelessness for Veterans, in addition to extreme poverty (O'Connell, 2008; Tsai & Rosenback, 2015; Giano et al. 2020). Also, access to both disability compensation and VA services are important for Veterans to avoid homelessness (Tsai & Rosenheck, 2015; Byrne et al., 2016). Additional factors found to contribute to homelessness for female Veterans include pre-military adversity, including domestic violence, family instability, and child abuse, domestic violence or termination of relationships after military service, and unemployment (Hamilton et al., 2011). For male Veterans, early childhood factors also have an impact, including child abuse and family instability (Tsai & Rosenheck, 2015).

The risks of homelessness also vary by the type of mental illness. In a sample that included 10,340 individuals being treated for schizophrenia, bipolar disorder or major depression in San Diego, Folsom et al. (2005) found that those with major depression were less likely to be homeless, but race, gender, comorbid substance use disorders, and lack of Medicaid also contributed to likelihood of homelessness. Thus, addressing mental illness and substance use alone will not adequately address most causes of homelessness, nor the interactions between multiple structural and individual factors that produce unique pathways to homelessness and

varying duration of homelessness.

The roles of other acute and chronic illnesses, lack of access to affordable health care, and the effects of illness on employment are less well studied as factors that contribute to homelessness. There is more research in the other direction, namely how homelessness and associated unmet health care needs affect health outcomes (Babbett et al., 2010).

Support for Older Adults

Homelessness among older adults is another area of risk that intersects closely with the structural factors of available social policy supports, social support networks, and adequate access to care, as well as with poverty and available affordable housing. Older adults have received less attention in research on homelessness antecedents, despite estimates that their proportion of the homelessness population is rapidly increasing and will continue to increase over the next decade (Culhane et al., 2019). Culhane et al. (2019) warn that the projected increases of older adults experiencing homelessness over the next 10 years will lead to substantial increases in service use, including shelter, health care, and nursing homes, and costs.

The rapid aging of the population experiencing homelessness, which outpaces the aging of the overall U.S. population, is linked to the cohort born between 1954 to 1964 who have been disproportionately homeless since the 1990's due to several factors, including several economic downturns, depressed wages, higher housing costs, and more (Culhane et al. 2013; Culhane et al., 2019). Older adults (50 and over) who are experiencing homelessness are more likely to have chronic health conditions (Pleis et al., 2010) and conditions associated with aging (Gelberg et al., 1990; Brown et al., 2016a) compared to older adults who are housed, which make them more difficult to house than adults under 50. Additionally, "aging in place" initiatives to address the growing housing concerns of older adults ignores vulnerabilities, including homelessness, that make aging in place impossible or not ideal (See Golant, 2015; Canham et al., 2022).

Older adults experiencing homelessness receive less attention in the literature, but to the extent there is evidence available, two patterns emerge. One is older adults who have experienced chronic or previous homelessness and the other is older adults who newly experience homelessness due to loss of previously stable housing or other factors (Kellogg & Horn, 2012). From a sample of individuals experiencing homelessness in San Francisco, California, Brown et al. (2016b) compared older adults who first experienced homelessness prior to the age of 50 and those who experienced it for the first time after the age of 50 and found several differences. Older individuals who experienced homelessness for the first time prior to the age of 50 had lower levels of education, more history of incarceration, more mental health issues, more substance use issues, higher under-employment, and traumatic brain injuries (Brown et al., 2016b). For those experiencing homelessness after 50, common factors are loss of housing due to inability to pay rent, foreclosure, or a landlord selling their

home, death of a partner, or illness (Crane et al. 2005; Shinn et al. 2007). Shinn et al. (2007) also pointed out that poverty is a risk factor for all older adults, in addition to social isolation that decreases potential sources of support to avoid homelessness.

Thus, the findings from the literature suggest that those who age while experiencing homelessness may have different service needs than those who experience homelessness for the first time after the age of 50.

SYSTEMATIC DISADVANTAGE AND SOCIETAL EXCLUSION

Traditionally marginalized groups have been systematically disadvantaged and excluded from equitable participation in broad societal institutions. Societal exclusion has applied to persons with historically marginalized identities such as various race and ethnicity, gender, sex, and sexual orientations. These identities are not inherently antecedents or 'causes' of homelessness, but for those who hold them, systematic disadvantage and discrimination can interact with other structural factors to disproportionately amplify individual vulnerability and risk of homelessness.

*Structural Racism*¹²

Much of the research on the significance of systematic societal exclusion as it pertains to homelessness has focused on the persistence of racial inequality in U.S. homelessness (Jones, 2016; Shinn, 2007, 2010; Fowle, 2022). Race and ethnicity have often been identified as intersecting with risk for homelessness (See Folsom et al., 2005; Curtis et al., 2013; Anderson & Collins, 2014; Remster, 2021), and Black, Indigenous, People of Color (BIPOC) have been overrepresented among persons experiencing homelessness relative to their representation in the population (Fusaro et al., 2018). Black or African American people accounted for 45% of the sheltered homeless in 2021, while Hispanic or Latino account for less than a quarter (Henry et al, 2021). Unaccompanied youth among the sheltered homelessness were more likely to be people of color in 2021, with 43.3% Black or African American youths unaccompanied in shelters and 3.3% Native American (compared to 43.3% identifying as White). In 2021, 22.2% unaccompanied youth of sheltered homeless were Hispanic/Latino (Henry et al., 2021).

The disproportionality of BIPOC experiencing homelessness has been linked to societal exclusion and discriminatory policies (e.g., Olivet et al., 2018; Shinn, 2010). Furthermore, the disproportionality in homelessness has persisted throughout U.S. history (Franklin & Moss, 1994; Fisher, 2017) with roots in the 15th century enslavement of Africans and the European colonialization and displacement of indigenous natives.

¹² Structural racism is focused on inter-institutional connections or the system of interconnected formal institutions, all operating with a set of embedded rules that systematically disadvantages BIPOC (see Gee and Hicken, 2021 for a review). This is distinct from institutional racism, which refers to the racial inequity that has been created and perpetuated by single institutions or organizations, like banks, hospitals, schools, and government. Each institution independently perpetuates racism through its practices and policies.

The pattern of societal exclusion among marginalized racial and ethnic social groups has been documented internationally (Shinn, 2007). This exclusion takes several forms that contribute to homelessness, including exclusion from social welfare programs, accumulated wealth, and access to adequate income (Shinn, 2010). The primary arenas with a considerable intersection with housing are: 1) economic inequality (the racial distribution of income, wealth, and assets), 2) segregation and housing discrimination, 3) disproportionate rates of incarceration, and 4) disparate access to housing interventions. Societal exclusion in these social and economic domains has produced systemic disadvantages for BIPOC individuals (Fowle, 2022; Olivet et al., 2021; Solari et al., 2021) that have increased vulnerability to homelessness.

For example, Pittman et al. (2018) reported an overrepresentation of African Americans and indigenous peoples experiencing homelessness in Minnesota as a consequence of “racist and discriminatory housing policies (such as red lining)” and “generational poverty” that continues to affect these populations (Pittman et al., 2018). For indigenous populations in particular, forced relocation has had numerous disadvantageous impacts that have combined with lack of affordable housing to compound homelessness (Whitbeck et al., 2012; Olivet et al., 2018). Additionally, in a cross-national study of Canada, Australia, and New Zealand, overrepresentation of indigenous peoples in homelessness was connected to racial discrimination which led to longer wait times for services, and frequent rejections from housing (Anderson & Collins, 2014).

In a study of eight U.S. communities and interviews with 195 people of color, Olivet et al. (2021) found that lack of affordable housing and jobs with adequate wages were factors that contribute to homelessness for people of color. These factors cannot be divorced from historical and ongoing exclusionary or discriminatory practices that fuel structural factors, such as poverty and housing affordability, that contribute to disproportionate rates of homelessness for BIPOC. These issues lead Olivet et al. (2021) to argue that to combat homelessness for these groups, actions at all levels of government need to be developed or modified to specifically address racism, racial inequity, and policies that result in disproportionate effects.

It is important to also recognize intersections with other factors that are associated with divergent outcomes. For instance, in a study where all participants had received treatment for a mental illness, African American individuals were still more likely to experience homelessness than all other groups, while Latino and Asian participants were less likely than White individuals to experience homelessness (Folsom et al., 2005). Additionally, although data is difficult to obtain, an early study indicated that LGBTQ+ people of color made up a disproportionate amount of the LGBTQ+ persons experiencing homelessness (as cited in Quintana et al., 2010). The intersections of structural factors that uniquely affect those who experience societal exclusion can lead to different outcomes and pathways to homelessness. They can also make it difficult to absorb shocks or events that trigger homelessness due to exclusion from many resources that serve as buffers.

Structural Factors Interacting with Sex, Gender Identity, and Sexual Orientation

Men constituted a higher proportion of both sheltered homelessness and unaccompanied youth sheltered homeless in 2020 and 2021 (Henry et al, 2021) and this is consistent over time. However, women and girls have increasingly comprised a greater percentage of persons experiencing homelessness and constitute most sheltered homeless families (Henry et al, 2021). This is linked to numerous structural factors that coalesce to create homelessness vulnerabilities for women and girls, including the growth in female headed households that began in the 1980's and disproportionate employment of women in lower wage service sector occupations, which also disproportionately affects women of color.

Sex and gender intersect with pathways into homelessness, experiences during homelessness, durations of homelessness and exits from homelessness (Weitzmann, 1989; Koegel et. al., 1995; Baker et. al., 2010; Rosario et. al., 2012; Mayock & Parker, 2015). Domestic violence is a major contributing cause of women's entry into homelessness (Kogel et al., 1995; Bassuk et al., 2001; Jasinski et al., 2010; Mayock & Parker, 2015). Intimate partner violence not only increases vulnerability to entry into homelessness but may affect exits from homelessness as women with a history of abusive relationships may be seen as a liability to landlords (Baker et al., 2010). Additionally, pregnancy can further exacerbate risk levels for homelessness (Weitzmann, 1989; Shinn & Weitzmann, 1991) and also complicates exits from homelessness as primary caregiving responsibilities are an additional strain on resources (Baker et al., 2010; Mayock & Parker, 2015). For women and girls, family instability such as domestic violence creates higher proximate risk for homelessness than for men. When exiting these relationships, other individual and structural factors, such as primary care responsibility of children, a female headed household (which disproportionately experience poverty), and the ongoing ramifications of experiencing domestic violence, also play a significant role in both potential entry and exits from homelessness.

Research focusing on gender identity and queer homelessness finds that LGBTQ+ persons can have worse, earlier, and more frequent experiences of homelessness than heterosexual and cisgendered homeless people (Rosario et al., 2012; Medlow et al., 2014; Choi et al., 2015; Castellanos, 2016; Kia et al., 2021). A study drawing on interviews with and life histories of LGBTQ+ youth found more frequent experiences of homelessness for homosexual youth the earlier they begin to discover and express their sexual orientation in their original home (Rosario et al., 2012). Further research suggests that, particularly in youth (when access to housing and social support may be tied to family), identifying openly as LGBTQ+ can frequently increase conflict with and often result in severed relationships with the original family (Castellanos, 2016; Kia et al., 2021).

Evidence suggests that LGBTQ+ youth are overrepresented among youth and young adults experiencing homelessness (Fournier et al., 2009; Choi et al., 2015; Morton et al., 2018; Wilson et al., 2020). While LGBTQ+ adult homelessness receives less attention compared to youth

homelessness, Wilson et al. (2020) suggest that LGBTQ+ homelessness is more likely to be experienced in adulthood rather than youth. Several structural and individual factors increase the risk of homelessness for LGBTQ+ individuals. For instance, research indicates that LGBTQ+ adults are at higher risk of poverty when controlling for other factors (Badgett et al., 2019) and LGBTQ+ homeownership rates are less than non-LGBTQ+ adults (Conron, 2019), especially for LGBTQ+ people of color (Conron et al., 2018). Poverty and homeownership rates among LGBTQ+ vary both based on race and ethnicity, and between transgender and cisgender LGBTQ+ individuals (Conron et al., 2018; Conron, 2019).

Lack of family support and family rejection affect both LGBTQ+ youth and adults, particularly LGBTQ+ seniors who are more likely to live alone (Choi & Meyer, 2016). LGBTQ+ individuals report higher incidences of childhood adversity, including involvement in child protection services (Forge et al., 2018) and child abuse (Gaetz et al., 2016; Forge et al., 2018). These factors increase risks for homelessness because not only is an important support system sometimes eroded or non-existent for LGBTQ+ youth, adult, and seniors, there may also be interactions with increased vulnerability to other risk factors, such as drug use (Gattis, 2013; Kidd et al., 2017).

LGBTQ+ individuals also experience discrimination in access to shelter and other homelessness services, and report higher levels of mistreatment from residents and staff (Choi et al., 2015; Coolhart & Brown, 2017; Ecker & Sylvester, 2019). These experiences not only prolong periods of homelessness, but also affect willingness to access these services (Choi et al., 2015; Ecker & Sylvester, 2019; Kia et al., 2021).

Taken together, the literature suggests that persons with more structurally and socially marginalized sexual orientations and gender identities experience increased likelihoods of and worsened experiences with homelessness, largely due to increased vulnerability associated with social structures and discrimination.

Snapshot of Housing Assistance in Washington State

To paint an overall picture of publicly supported housing assistance and intervention in Washington, we have drawn on annual data about publicly funded housing assistance in Washington State. The Washington State Department of Commerce collects annual data on funding, operating expenditures, and performance benchmarks for Homeless Management Information Systems (HMIS) projects that receive public funds to support housing assistance interventions.¹³ Information from this data collection effort is presented in the annual Golden

¹³ Any entity who receives federal funding to support programming efforts is required to provide aggregate data to the Department of Commerce, that is reported to the federal government. Washington State law requires data reporting compliance by agencies/programs in receipt of "federal, state, local, and private funds" for five "major [types of housing] assistance" and "any other activity in which more than five hundred thousand dollars of category funds were expended" [RCW 43.185C.045(c)].

Report.¹⁴ The most recent data reflects statewide housing assistance for 2021 and presents information on 2,684 housing assistance projects in Washington.¹⁵ Using information from the 2021 Golden Report, we provide here an overview of housing assistance by geography, project type, and known funding sources.

HOUSING ASSISTANCE BY COUNTY

In Washington State, public funds that provide housing support for persons and households experiencing homelessness are dispersed at the county level—the homeless assistance intervention system is decentralized. The county location for HMIS-projects (regardless of funding source) in 2021 are shown in Table 1 and Figure 5, alongside the 2022 Washington State PIT count for sheltered and unsheltered persons and households experiencing homelessness. Across 39 counties, nearly one-quarter of HMIS projects are located in King County (n = 604, 22.5%)—the largest proportion of programs for any county in Washington. King County also has the highest number and percentage of persons and households experiencing homelessness. Pierce County has the next highest proportion of HMIS projects, with 11.5% (n = 309). This is followed by Snohomish County at 5.6% (n = 150), Spokane County at 5.3% (n = 142), and Clark County at 4.7% (n = 127). The rest of the housing assistance programs are dispersed among the remaining 34 counties across the state, which are also less populated.

Table 1: Distribution of HMIS-Projects, Homeless Persons, and Homeless Households, by County

County Name	HMIS-Projects 2021		Persons Experiencing Homelessness 2022		Household Experiencing Homelessness ¹⁶ 2022	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
Adams	24	0.9%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
Asotin	15	0.6%	95	0.4%		0.0%
Benton	66	2.5%	202	0.8%	114	0.6%
Chelan	46	1.7%	389	1.5%	267	1.3%
Clallam	65	2.4%	178	0.7%	136	0.7%
Clark	127	4.7%	1438	5.7%	914	4.5%
Columbia	16	0.6%	17	0.1%	17	0.1%
Cowlitz	51	1.9%	271	1.1%	197	1.0%
Douglas	2	0.1%	20	0.1%	14	0.1%
Ferry	17	0.6%	10	0.04%	10	0.1%
Franklin	37	1.4%	13	0.1%	13	0.1%

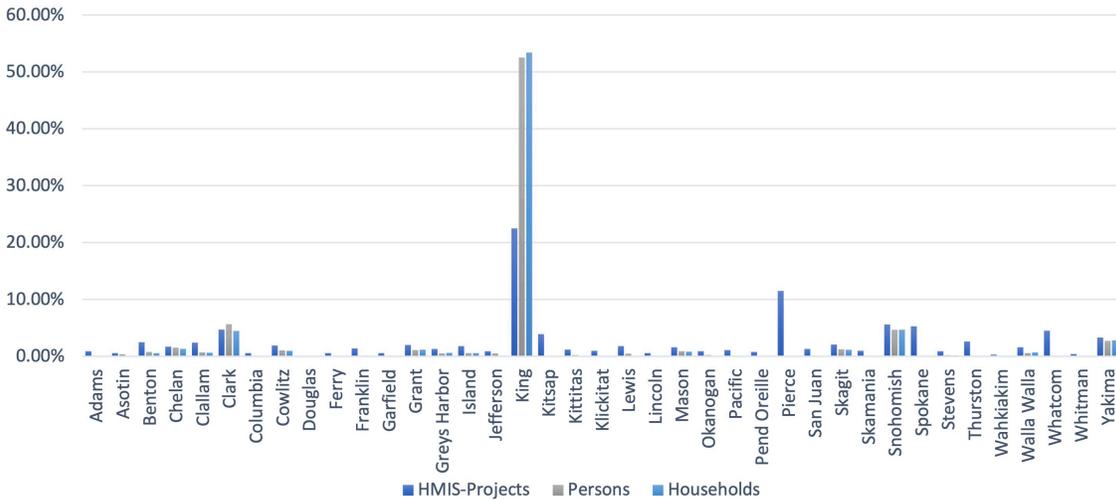
¹⁴ There are limited ways for the state to ensure compliance among agencies who receive only private money. The Golden Report is the most reliable data for agencies/HMIS projects funded from federal, state, and local money. Data were not collected for the Golden Report in 2020 due to COVID-19.

¹⁵ Washington State Department of Commerce “The 2021 Golden Report” <https://www.commerce.wa.gov/serving-communities/homelessness/state-strategic-plan-annual-report-and-audits/>.

¹⁶ Data have been transferred from 2022 PIT count, by county. Rows not populated with data here represent information not included in the official PIT count report.

Garfield	16	0.6%	0	0.00%		0.0%
Grant	53	2.0%	286	1.1%	238	1.2%
Greys Harbor	36	1.3%	134	0.5%	124	0.6%
Island	47	1.8%	146	0.6%	115	0.6%
Jefferson	25	0.9%	130	0.5%		0.0%
King	604	22.5%	13368	52.5%	10894	53.4%
Kitsap	105	3.9%		0.0%		0.0%
Kittitas	31	1.2%	56	0.2%		0.0%
Klickitat	27	1.0%	13	0.1%	10	0.05%
Lewis	49	1.8%	120	0.5%		0.0%
Lincoln	17	0.6%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
Mason	42	1.6%	238	0.9%	167	0.8%
Okanogan	25	0.9%	57	0.2%		0.0%
Pacific	29	1.1%		0.0%		0.0%
Pend Oreille	22	0.8%	18	0.1%	11	0.1%
Pierce	309	11.5%		0.0%		0.0%
San Juan	36	1.3%		0.0%		0.0%
Skagit	57	2.1%	314	1.2%	234	1.2%
Skamania	27	1.0%	24	0.1%	24	0.1%
Snohomish	150	5.6%	1184	4.7%	953	4.7%
Spokane	142	5.3%		0.0%		0.0%
Stevens	25	0.9%	50	0.2%	30	0.2%
Thurston	71	2.6%		0.0%		0.0%
Wahkiakum	9	0.3%	10	0.04%	10	0.1%
Walla Walla	44	1.6%	151	0.6%	140	0.7%
Whatcom	121	4.5%		0.0%		0.0%
Whitman	11	0.4%	11	0.04%	10	0.1%
Yakima	88	3.3%	692	2.7%	574	2.8%
Total	2,684	100%	25,452	100%	20,402	100%

Figure 5. Distribution of HMIS-Projects, Homeless Persons, and Homeless Households, by County.



HOUSING ASSISTANCE BY CONTINUUM OF CARE

Federal housing assistance currently operates under a Continuum of Care (CoC) framework. The U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD, 2018, p. 4) defines the CoC as:

“the group organized to carry out the responsibilities required under the CoC Program Interim Rule (24 CFR Part 578) including nonprofit homeless providers, victim service providers, faith-based organizations, governments, businesses, advocates, public housing agencies, school districts, social service providers, mental health agencies, hospitals, universities, affordable housing developers, and law enforcement, and organizations that serve homeless and formerly homeless persons to the extent that these groups are represented within the geographic area and are available to participate.”

In Washington, the state is geographically organized into jurisdictional boundaries defined by elective participation in the CoC. There are six CoCs in Washington. Five of the six represent the five largest counties. The Washington Balance of State CoC includes the 34 remaining county jurisdictions. Table 2 presents the distribution of housing assistance projects by their location in the six CoCs (and corresponding counties) in Washington.¹⁷

Table 2. *Distribution of Housing Assistance Projects by CoC (n = 2,684)*

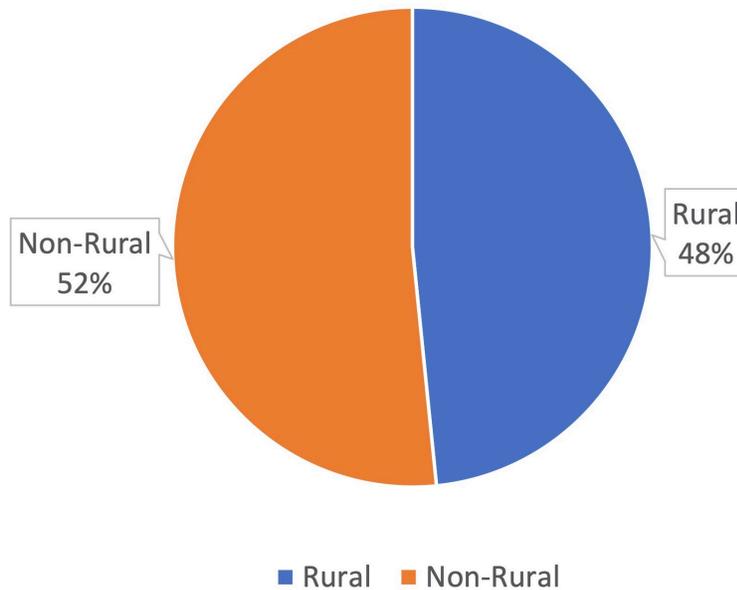
Continuum of Care	County Jurisdiction	Program Counts	
		<i>n</i>	%
Spokane City and County	Spokane	142	5.3%
Seattle/King County	King	604	22.5%
Vancouver/Clark County	Clark	127	4.7%
Everett/Snohomish County	Snohomish	150	5.6%
Tacoma, Lakewood, Pierce	Pierce	309	11.5%
WA Balance of State	34 remaining counties	1352	50.4%
Total		2,684	100%

¹⁷ To show the distribution of projects by Continuum of Care we created a categorical variable that sorted projects into one of Washington’s six CoCs based on the jurisdictional boundaries of county in which it operates.

HOUSING ASSISTANCE BY POPULATION DENSITY

Presently, 30 of 39 counties in Washington are designated as rural based on population density and land area criteria.¹⁸ All 30 of the rural counties are part of the Balance of State CoC. As shown in Figure 6, among 2,684 projects, 48.4% were located in a jurisdiction classified as rural (n = 1,298) and 51.6% (n = 1,386) were in a jurisdiction classified as non-rural.¹⁹

Figure 6. Distribution of HMIS-Projects by Rurality in Washington



HOUSING ASSISTANCE BY PROJECT TYPE

Federal program classification guidelines have provided specific definitions for states to categorize housing assistance projects for HMIS data tracking. Project categories from the most recent guidance²⁰ include 1) street outreach, 2) emergency shelter, 3) transitional housing, 4) rapid rehousing, 5) permanent supportive housing, 6) other permanent housing, 7) homeless prevention, 8) day shelter, 9) services only, 10) coordinated entry/assessment, 11) Safe Haven, and 12) "other." Table 3 provides definitions of HMIS-project types.

¹⁸ The Washington State Office of Financial Management designates a county as rural if it has "a population density less than 100 persons per square mile," or 2) geographic boundaries "smaller than 25 square miles" is identified as rural (<https://ofm.wa.gov/washington-data-research/population-demographics/population-estimates/population-density/population-density-and-land-area-criteria-used-rural-area-assistance-and-other-programs>).

¹⁹ To show the distribution of projects by population density, we classified each project as "rural" or "non-rural" (Non-rural = 0, Rural = 1).

²⁰ HMIS project guidelines are issued by the US Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD). HUD releases updated HMIS Program guidelines on an annual basis and requires reporting to correspond with data standards in the most up-to-date program manual for a given year. The 2021 Golden Report provided by the Washington State Department of Commerce reflects HMIS project categories as outlined in the Emergency Solutions Grant Program HMIS Manual and its respective guidelines (<https://www.hudexchange.info/resource/4447/esg-program-hmis-manual/>).

Table 3. HMIS Project Definitions

HMIS Project Type	Definition ²¹
Street Outreach	<i>Activities designed to meet the immediate needs of unsheltered homeless persons by connecting them with Emergency Shelter, housing and/or emergency health services (HUD, 2022, p. 5)²². Examples include health and hygiene projects, food and drink, services information/brochures.</i>
Emergency Shelter	Temporary short-term, congregate shelter. "A project that offers temporary shelter (lodging) for the homeless in general or for specific populations who are homeless" (Commerce, 2022 PIT count fact sheet p. 1)
Transitional Housing	Time-limited housing subsidies for no longer than 24 months to facilitate successful homeless exits. ²³
Rapid Rehousing	Temporary rent subsidies/case management designed to facilitate long term housing stability. Household can take over rent when subsidy ends. RRH <i>funds short- and/or long-term rental assistance and housing relocation and stabilization services (financial assistance and service costs)...to quickly move homeless individuals and families from emergency shelter or places not meant for human habitation into permanent housing.</i> ²⁴
Permanent Supportive Housing	Subsidized, non-time-limited support for housing when member of household has a qualifying disability. ²⁵
Other Permanent Housing	Permanent housing that is not otherwise considered permanent supportive housing or rapid re-housing. ²⁶
Homeless Prevention	"housing-focused case management" coupled with short term subsidies. ²⁷ <i>Funds short- and/or medium-term rental assistance and housing relocation and stabilization services...to prevent an at-risk individual or family from moving into an emergency shelter or living in a place not meant for human habitation.</i> ^{28,29}
Day Shelter	Projects that offer daytime facilities and services (no lodging) for persons who are homeless. ³⁰

²¹ Verbatim definitions are italicized.

²² <https://files.hudexchange.info/resources/documents/ESG-Program-HMIS-Manual-2018.pdf>

²³ <https://www.hud.gov/sites/documents/HAAA-HEARTH.PDF>

²⁴ ESG Program HMIS Manual, p. 5 (<https://www.hudexchange.info/resource/4447/esg-program-hmis-manual/>)

²⁵ <https://www.hudexchange.info/homelessness-assistance/coc-esg-virtual-binders/coc-program-components/permanent-housing/permanent-supportive-housing/>

²⁶ There are three types of permanent housing: 1) permanent supportive housing, 2) rapid rehousing, and 3) other permanent housing. (<https://www.hud.gov/sites/documents/16-13CPDN.PDF>)

²⁷ OHY Guidelines for Housing Programs, p. 35 (<https://www.commerce.wa.gov/wp-content/uploads/2021/09/hau-ohy-housing-programs-guidelines-07.01.2021.pdf>)

²⁸ ESG Program HMIS Manual, p. 5 (<https://files.hudexchange.info/resources/documents/ESG-Program-HMIS-Manual-2018.pdf>)

²⁹ <https://www.hudexchange.info/homelessness-assistance/coc-esg-virtual-binders/esg-program-components/homelessness-prevention/>

³⁰ ESG Program HMIS Manual, p. 5 (<https://files.hudexchange.info/resources/documents/ESG-Program-HMIS-Manual-2018.pdf>)

Services Only	Provides services to homeless individuals and families not residing in housing operated by the recipient. Funds may be used to conduct outreach to sheltered and unsheltered persons and families, link clients with housing or other necessary services, and provide ongoing support. ³¹
Coordinated Entry/Assessment	Process developed to ensure that all people experiencing a housing crisis have fair and equal access and are quickly identified, assessed for, referred, and connected to housing and assistance based on their strengths and needs. ³²

Keeping in mind that there is wide variation in programs even within a project type, the distribution of supported projects by category gives some sense of the relative extent to which different kinds of assistance are being provided. The distribution of the different types of projects in Washington State is shown in Table 4. Statewide, nearly one in five housing support programs is an emergency shelter (n = 504, 19.1%). Rapid Rehousing accounts for 16.8% of programs (n = 444). The most frequent after that include homeless prevention (n = 376, 14.2%) and permanent supportive housing (n = 356, 13.5%) Statewide, day shelters are the least frequent project type (n = 32, 1.2%). Table 4 provides the distribution of project types separately for rural and non-rural county jurisdictions, also shown in Figure 7. In rural areas, the pattern differs somewhat from the state overall, with rapid rehousing as the most frequent, followed closely by emergency shelter. Non-rural areas follow the statewide pattern of emergency shelter as the most frequent project type, but permanent supportive housing is more frequent than rapid rehousing in these jurisdictions.

Table 4. Distribution of HMIS-Project Types: Statewide, Rural, and Non-Rural Project Frequency

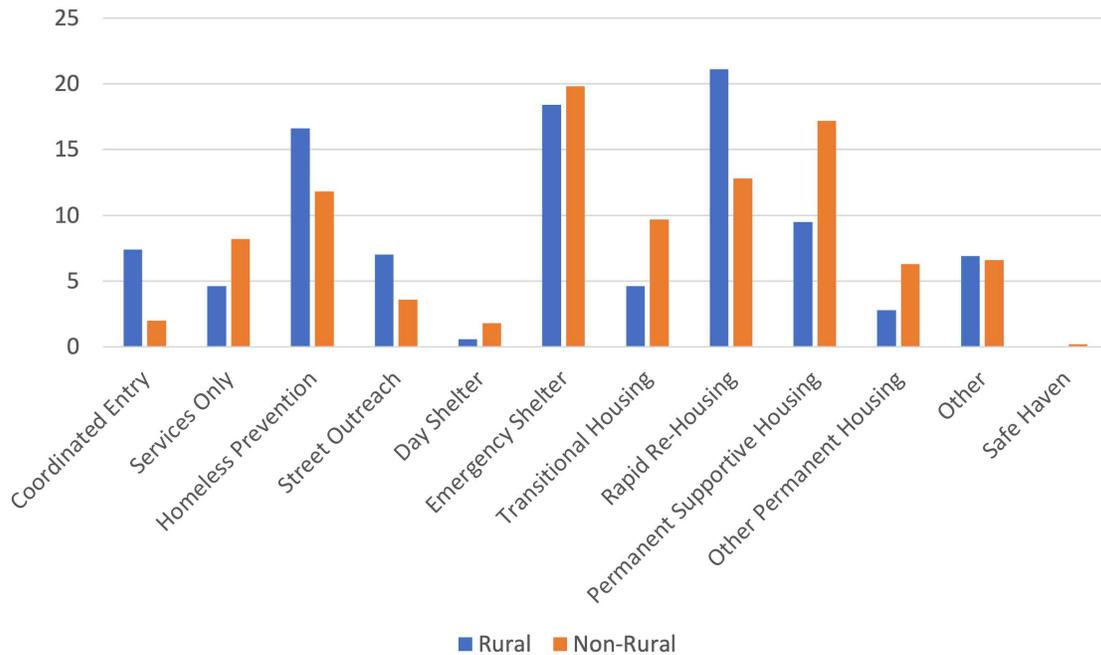
Project Type Frequency						
	Statewide n = 2,684		Rural n = 1,298		Non-Rural n = 1,386	
HMIS Project Type	n	%	n	%	n	%
Coordinated Entry	122	4.6	94	7.4	28	2.0
Services Only	172	6.5	59	4.6	113	8.2
Homeless Prevention	376	14.2	215	16.6	161	11.8
Street Outreach	138	5.2	89	7.0	49	3.6
Day Shelter	32	1.2	8	0.6	24	1.8

³¹ p.5 (<https://files.hudexchange.info/resources/documents/CoC-Program-HMIS-Manual.pdf>)

³² <https://files.hudexchange.info/resources/documents/Coordinated-Entry-and-HMIS-FAQs.pdf>

Emergency Shelter	504	19.1	233	18.4	271	19.8
Transitional Housing	192	7.3	59	4.6	133	9.7
Rapid Re-Housing	444	16.8	268	21.1	176	12.8
Permanent Supportive Housing	356	13.5	121	9.5	235	17.2
Other Permanent Housing	122	4.6	36	2.8	86	6.3
Other	178	6.7	87	6.9	91	6.6
Safe Haven ³³	3				3	
No Classification (Missing) ³⁴	45		29		16	

Figure 7. Distribution of HMIS-Projects by Type across Rural and Non-rural Jurisdictions



³³ Projects in the category of “Safe Haven” were not included in the percent calculations for statewide, rural, and non-rural project type frequency. This is because, amendments to the McKinney-Vento Homeless Assistance Act by the 2009 Homeless Emergency Assistance and Rapid Transition to Housing Act (HEARTH act) eliminated the funding of new Safe Haven program by HUD in the Continuum of Care Program. Post-2009 HEARTH Act, existing Safe Haven programs can apply and receive renewed funding if the project meets requirements outlined by guidance provided from HUD (see Safe Havens Fact Sheet, 2012). Consistent with this, only 3 housing assistance programs in the 2021 Washington State data were classified as Safe Haven.

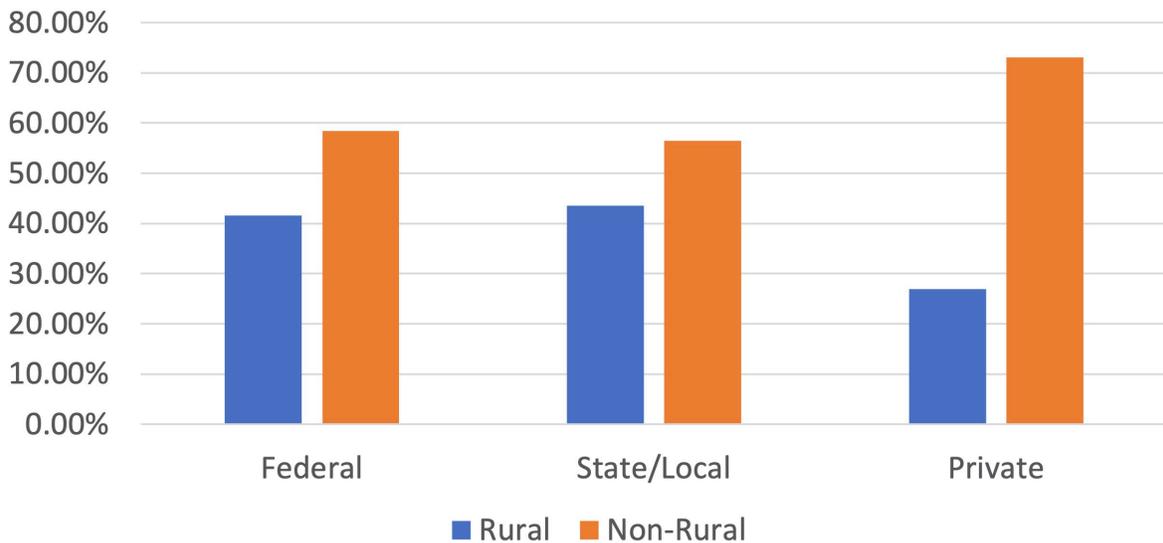
³⁴ Projects with missing data on HMIS classification were not included in the percent calculations for statewide, rural, and non-rural project type frequency.

HOUSING ASSISTANCE BY FUNDING SOURCE

An entity that implements housing assistance projects can receive multiple sources of funding to support their HMIS projects. The Golden Report tracks operating expenditures for housing assistance services and capital funds based on account balances across federal, state, local, and private funding sources. In the 2021 report, nearly one-quarter of agencies reported receiving any federal funding (n = 661, 24.6%), more than one-quarter reported no federal funding support (n = 715, 26.6%) and almost half did not provide information to assess the status of federal funding support (n = 1306, 48.7%).³⁵ Just over one-third reported state/local funding to support HMIS projects in 2021 (n = 974, 36.3%).³⁶ Only 7.7 percent of agencies reported private monetary support (n = 208, 7.7%).³⁷

As shown in Figure 8, a comparison of funding support between rural and non-rural jurisdictions shows that a significantly larger percent of projects reporting federal funding support were located in non-rural jurisdictions (58.4%, n = 386 projects classified as non-rural). Similarly, a significantly larger percent of projects reporting state/local funding support and private funding support were located in non-rural jurisdictions.

Figure 8. A Comparison of HMIS-Project Funding by Rurality



³⁵ *Federal Funding* is a categorical variable collected by Commerce to identify if a 2021 housing assistance agency reported receiving any federal funds to support their operating expenditures or capital funds (no = 0, yes = 1, unknown = 2).

³⁶ *State/Local Funding* is a binary variable to capture if a 2021 housing assistance agency received any state or local funds to support their operating expenditures or capital funds as reported in the 2021 Golden Report (No = 0, Yes = 1).

³⁷ *Private Funding* was a binary variable to capture if a 2021 housing assistance agency received any monetary support for operating expenditures or capital funds from private and/or foundation donations (No = 0, Yes = 1).

Overview of the Policy and Regulatory Landscape

Efforts to reduce homelessness and increase affordable housing fall under the policy and regulatory arena of agencies and elected bodies at all levels of government and are further affected by the judicial branch through court rulings. The following provides a broad overview as groundwork for our future exploration, through facilitated discussions in the next year, of how the statutory and regulatory landscape in Washington affects efforts to address homelessness and housing instability.

FEDERAL GOVERNMENT

Federal involvement in housing security has steadily increased over time. While states retain much control in addressing the issue of homelessness, they operate in a context of federal policies and resources. Early federal policies did not explicitly address homelessness, often focusing on housing availability and affordability. The first federal policy explicitly focused on homelessness was passed in 1977: the Stewart B. McKinney Homeless Assistance Act, which among other things provided federal funding for shelters and health care for individuals experiencing homelessness. Most federal housing assistance is administered through the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development.³⁸ The McKinney Act was updated in 1997, creating the U.S. Interagency Council on Homelessness, which coordinates among the multiple federal agencies that have a role in contributing to the response to homelessness. The Council provides tools and information and has developed a federal strategic plan.³⁹ The Act was updated again in 2009, consolidating numerous programs and creating the goal of permanently housing individuals and families experiencing homelessness in 30 days.

WASHINGTON STATE

In the U.S., the implementation of housing assistance has for the most part been decentralized so that each state can identify and decide how to best address the housing needs of its population. Washington State has a similar approach, where counties and communities develop and implement programs with resources and guidance from state agencies and the Legislature.

The Washington State Department of Commerce plays a key role, acting as the main coordinator for state and federal housing-related policies and distributing resources to other jurisdictions and communities. Commerce also has roles related to housing that range from capital funding for affordable housing stock⁴⁰ to building housing infrastructure⁴¹ to growth management, which includes housing goals. They are also responsible for a State Strategic Plan and an Annual Report to the Legislature on Washington State's efforts to address homelessness.⁴² Many other state agencies are also involved in the work of supporting

³⁸ <https://www.hud.gov/topics>

³⁹ <https://www.usich.gov/tools-for-action/home-together-federal-strategic-plan-to-prevent-and-end-homelessness>

⁴⁰ <https://www.commerce.wa.gov/building-infrastructure/housing/housing-trust-fund/>

⁴¹ <https://www.commerce.wa.gov/building-infrastructure/housing/>

⁴² <https://www.commerce.wa.gov/serving-communities/homelessness/state-strategic-plan-annual-report-and-audits/>

housing—some of that work is coordinated and informed through entities such as the Washington State Advisory Council on Homelessness and Interagency Council on Homelessness.⁴³

As part of an overview of the current statutory and regulatory landscape in Washington State, it is helpful to consider the related general themes in the current legislative context. During the most recent legislative biennium, 2021-2022, policymakers proposed 44 bills with the descriptive tag “Homeless Persons,” and 12 ultimately became session law.⁴⁴ Bills considered in the 2021-2022 biennium reflect a broad range of topics. Many related to funding,⁴⁵ homes and housing, mental health, substance use disorders and included either Washington State Department of Commerce or the Health Care Authority.

Many bills focused on discrete topics, such as fiscal flexibility for housing during the public health emergency, coordinating transitions from health care facilities, drug and alcohol possession and consumption within housing/shelters, identification documentation for individuals experiencing homelessness, employment and hiring incentives, legal financial support, new taxes to support local homeless support programs, and renter protections. More than 200 government and community-based entities, with organizational missions reflecting a broad array of issues, testified on these bills. The extensive legislative activity, range of topics, and level of engagement from interested organizations provides a glimpse of the breadth and complexity of the housing policy landscape in Washington State.

In Washington State, local governments also play a large role in housing. Public funds that provide housing support for persons and households experiencing homelessness are allocated by county, and each county develops a homeless housing plan for its jurisdictional area. These plans must be consistent with local plan guidelines issued by the Department of Commerce, with annual reports on plan accomplishments.⁴⁶

There are a variety of other ways that counties and municipalities contribute to the response to homelessness and lack of affordable housing.⁴⁷ Local zoning, regulations, fees, and permit procedures determine what housing can be built, using what land, and in what quantity.⁴⁸ Local governments also have a role in creating and supporting infrastructure that facilitates housing development and accessibility, such as transportation. They are also instrumental in other structural factors that intersect with housing, such as local economic development. In some communities, local governments directly fund affordable housing, through housing

⁴³ <https://www.commerce.wa.gov/about-us/boards-and-commissions/homeless-councils/>

⁴⁴ <https://app.leg.wa.gov/billinfo/>

⁴⁵ <https://medium.com/wagovernor/transformational-investments-in-transportation-housing-and-climate-lead-as-legislature-adjourns-a48a8657d4cf>

⁴⁶ <https://www.commerce.wa.gov/serving-communities/homelessness/local-government-5-year-plans/>

⁴⁷ For examples of the options available to municipalities, see <https://wacities.org/docs/default-source/resources/h3manual.pdf?sfvrsn=b5d1594f-11>

⁴⁸ For more on the effects of various planning regulations on housing, see the [Department of Commerce, Housing Memorandum: Issues Affecting Housing Availability and Affordability.](#)

levies and funding contributions, and various other forms of housing assistance. Many local governments also develop local comprehensive plans to implement the GMA and address housing security in their local context.

In many places, there are also a variety of partnership or coalition approaches to addressing homelessness and housing instability across local jurisdictions. These are formed, for example, to build shared understanding of housing challenges, collaborate on the development of affordable housing, jointly address homelessness, and share resources. Some regions spanning multiple jurisdictions have institutions dedicated to the purpose of coordinating and supporting a regional approach.⁴⁹ These institutions carry out activities such as developing regional strategies and needs assessments; supporting jurisdictions in their development of local housing targets, housing strategies, and implementation plans; and providing guidance, technical assistance, and data and information tracking.

COURT RULINGS

State and local governments are primarily responsible for addressing homelessness and housing, but occasionally face restrictions from federal and state courts. Many of these restrictions have been in response to the increasing reliance of municipal governments on law enforcement to address homelessness through punitive measures. Supreme Court rulings have somewhat limited this practice, with *Papachristou v. City of Jacksonville* (1972) and *Kolender v. Lawson* (1982) which held that overbroad vagrancy laws and vague anti-loitering statutes were a violation of Due Process (Hafetz, 2003). In response, more narrowly tailored laws restricting access to public spaces began in the early 1980's and served as the foundation for current anti-nuisance ordinances (Saelinger, 2006) or 'quality of life' laws (Tartakovsky, 2021) that became increasingly popular in the 1990's, pioneered by New York, Los Angeles, and San Francisco.

Anti-nuisance ordinances that punish homeless individuals include laws prohibiting panhandling, begging in public, sleeping in public, sleeping/living in vehicles, loitering, food sharing, and camping in public spaces. These laws have increased since 2006, with 48 states having at least one anti-nuisance law in 2021 (National Homelessness Law Center, 2021). Assessing the municipal codes in 187 cities, the National Law Center on Homelessness & Poverty (2021) found that city-wide bans on camping increased 69%, camping bans in select public areas increased nearly 50%, bans on loitering and vagrancy increased 88%, and sitting/lying down bans increased 52%.

Laws criminalizing sleeping in public, sleeping in vehicles, and used to target panhandling have been over-turned by federal courts. *Reed v. Town of Gilbert* (2015) may be the most far-reaching of these rulings, as the U.S. Supreme Court held laws that treat speakers or signs differently based on their content receive strict scrutiny. Since the decision, several

⁴⁹ See, for example, <https://www.psrc.org/our-work/housing>

panhandling laws have been overturned (Hudson, 2019).

While Reed has limited the ability to target panhandling, federal decisions regarding access to public spaces are much more narrow and do not prevent cities and states from enforcing anti-nuisance laws to target homelessness (Tartakovsky, 2021). Quality of life laws were prevalent in Washington cities in 2015. In a survey of 72 cities, Olson & MacDonald (2015) found that new ordinances targeting homeless individuals increased by more than 50%. Over three-quarters of the cities surveyed (78%) targeted sitting in public spaces, and the new ordinances often overlapped to “compound provisions that criminalize multiple, and often unrelated behaviors” (Olson & MacDonald, 2015, p. i). While these laws can reduce the visibility of homelessness in public spaces, they are ineffective for addressing the structural or individual causes of homelessness and they are often expensive (National Law Center on Homelessness & Poverty, 2021).

Long term impacts of decisions regarding sleeping ordinances are less clear. In *Dessertain v. City of Los Angeles* (2014), the Ninth Circuit found a Los Angeles statute prohibiting living in a vehicle violated the Due Process Clause for being too vague. Recently, the U.S. Supreme Court upheld the Ninth Circuit’s decision in *Martin v Boise*, which found sleeping or camping ordinances were a violation of the eighth amendment when enough shelter beds are not available (Boeckel, 2021). The finding in *Martin* is narrow and does not prevent criminalizing homelessness in public spaces (Harvard Law Review, 2022). Additionally, subsequent trial court rulings have further narrowed the scope of *Martin v Boise* by finding it only prevents city-wide bans, and criminal sanctions and criminal procedures (Tartakovsky, 2021).

While there are limited restrictions in federal case law, the Washington State Supreme Court’s decision in *Seattle v. Long* (2020) will have lasting ramifications for homeless individuals who live in their vehicles. First, the court found the impound fees imposed by Seattle when Long’s truck was impounded were excessive fines in violation of the eighth amendment of the Washington State constitution. Second, the court ruled that since Long’s vehicle was his primary residence, Washington State’s Homestead Act applied. In response, the Washington State Legislature has convened a working group to, among other things, determine how to identify vehicles used as residences, how to modify timelines for auction for vehicles used as residences, how to determine when towing and storage fees are excessive (ESSB 5689, Section 109, lines 16-29). The impacts of the *Seattle v Long* ruling and the processes for updating state and municipal law to meet the standards set in the case remain to be seen.

III. Status of Stakeholder Discussions

Overview

In HB 1277 Section 6, part (2), the Legislature calls for stakeholder discussions about root causes of housing instability and homelessness within Washington State and about concerns, barriers, opportunities, and desired principles for a long-term strategy. The goals of such a strategy would be to improve outcomes and services for persons at risk of or experiencing homelessness and develop pathways to permanent housing solutions. In the three reports requested in the legislation, the first two entail annual interim reports on the status of stakeholder discussions and the third culminating report is to provide options and recommendations for a long-term strategy that have been identified through facilitated stakeholder discussions. In this section, we will first provide an overview of our approach, a brief summary of insights from interviews conducted in 2021 and reported previously, and a description of our approach to stakeholder discussions in 2022. We then report the key themes that are emerging out of the insights from this year's discussions. This is followed by a preview of our planned approach to facilitated stakeholder discussions in 2023.

OVERALL APPROACH TO STAKEHOLDER ENGAGEMENT

Homelessness and housing instability represents one of modern society's most complex and multifaceted issues. To respond to this, a long-term strategy must similarly be multidimensional and versatile. As the Center draws on its extensive experience convening diverse groups to inform public policy and designs engagement around this issue, we have recognized the need to shift from convening models that engage a defined subset of individuals in timebound efforts on isolated topics, to a more iterative and adaptive engagement approach. With this recognition, we have identified the Deliberative Cycle of Inquiry as a practical model to describe and guide our work (Carcasson & Sprain, 2016).

The *Deliberative Cycle of Inquiry* model is well suited to the goals of this legislation because it recognizes that multi-faceted and exceedingly complex issues, such as homelessness and housing instability, can never be fully addressed with a one-off event or even a series of events aimed at identifying singular, discrete actions that solve the issue. These kinds of issues cannot be solved but instead need to be continuously managed. This is further reinforced by what we have heard in interviews, as discussed below. Developed to help grapple with this kind of complexity, the model offers cyclical and continuous engagement comprised of four stages: *Issue analysis, Convening, Facilitating deliberative engagement, and Reporting* (Carcasson & Sprain, 2016).

The purpose of this iterative approach is not to seek immediate or isolated actions. Instead, it is a process to deepen shared understanding, move towards coherence across perspectives,

and build collaborative efforts that are sustained over time, allowing for shifts to adjust as the context changes (such as the ongoing effects of the COVID-19 Pandemic). Using this cyclical approach will enable ideas for how to improve the response to homelessness and housing instability to emerge throughout the process. The approach provides a framework for us to periodically regroup to deepen our analysis, then continue our facilitation of relevant stakeholders to consider and refine emerging ideas in multiple collaborative engagements designed to inform each other.

To date, in coordination with the DGSS team, we have conducted the initial fact-finding and stakeholder discussions requested in the legislation using several cycles of in-depth issue analyses, project team convenings, and facilitated engagements on a small scale through semi-structured interviews, described in the sections that follow. The later preview of our work in 2023 describes how we will continue to follow the *Deliberative Cycle of Inquiry* as we progressively broaden our convenings and facilitate deliberative engagements designed to iteratively identify options and recommendations. This will culminate in an integrated synthesis, yielding a report that identifies where our multiple lines of work converge on options and recommendations for a long-term strategy toward housing security. A further aspiration is that our process could establish precedents for ways that collaborative contributions can continue to help develop and adapt a long-term strategy as it is implemented, as will be necessary to address an issue as complex as housing security.

SUMMARY OF STAKEHOLDER DISCUSSIONS REPORTED IN DECEMBER 2021

The preceding report of this project in 2021 provided a broad overview of the historical context and current landscape of housing policies and services and described initial insights from key stakeholders. That first cycle of stakeholder discussions served to clarify legislative intent and priorities, shape our overall approach to fact-finding and stakeholder discussions, and provide an initial understanding of concerns and areas of opportunity, starting from the perspectives of those with statewide leadership roles in efforts to address homelessness and housing instability. In 2021, we conducted semi-structured individual interviews with participants from the Governor's Office, the Office of Financial Management, the Department of Commerce, and the Legislature. The perspectives of these interviewees revealed several common patterns about homelessness and housing instability, including: 1) the urgency of this issue in Washington State, 2) the need and motivation to create effective and efficient policy solutions, 3) the importance of regional variation, and 4) the relevance of bipartisan stakeholder buy-in. The stakeholders included in these interviews all described the need to reevaluate approaches in Washington State and to strategically develop evidence-based ways of addressing housing instability and homelessness. A more detailed description of the ideas and themes of these discussions can be found in [Pathways to Housing Security: Phase 1 Report](#).⁵⁰

⁵⁰ <https://s3.wp.wsu.edu/uploads/sites/2180/2021/12/Pathways-to-Housing-Security-Report-FINAL.pdf>

APPROACH TO STAKEHOLDER DISCUSSIONS IN 2022

Analysis and Increasing Capacity

Building from the foundation provided by the initial stakeholder discussions in 2021, our first step in early 2022 was to further clarify the priority domains of inquiry and plan for our next cycle of stakeholder discussions. To this end, we continued to review relevant background documents and conducted internal consultations with facilitation design experts, experts in housing research and implementation of housing assistance, and our partner team at DGSS to coordinate our respective workstreams. In parallel, we recruited and onboarded three additional team members, expanding our capacity in engagement design, project management, and facilitation.

Planning Our Engagement Approach

This internal analysis and planning work enabled us to design and implement our next cycle of stakeholder discussions, with the purpose of elucidating what kinds of engagement, with whom, and around which issue areas would most usefully explore what is needed to enable sustained progress towards housing security in Washington State. Our approach at this stage was to conduct individual or small group interviews to understand what a range of stakeholders identify as concerns, opportunities, principles, key questions, and suggestions for facilitating productive engagement.

Engaging stakeholders in interviews allowed us the flexibility to coordinate timing more easily with a variety of stakeholders based on their individual availability rather than group scheduling. We were also able to elicit insights that were informed by more candor and confidentiality than what small and large group discussion would allow. This was especially important at this stage in our process for two reasons. One was to help us identify and prepare for areas of sensitivity, conflict, or entrenchment. The other was to prompt open thinking about what areas have the highest potential to yield value through subsequent facilitated engagement forums that will be held in 2023.

Interview Planning and Participation

As we reached out to interviewees, we were dedicated to engaging enough of a range of individuals and groups – across roles, sectors, levels of jurisdiction, and regions – to adequately inform the iterative design of convenings and facilitated engagement. Those participating in these interviews to date included key legislative and agency stakeholders; leaders of relevant task forces and working groups; county and city level leadership; providers in housing development, affordable housing, housing assistance, mental health, and substance abuse; stakeholders representing the interests of those experiencing homelessness and housing instability; and university-based subject matter experts. We recognize that to robustly inform a long-term strategy, there is a wider range of roles, perspectives, and experiences needed than those we have spoken with individually so far. We plan to widely

expand the number and range of stakeholders included in our facilitated discussions in 2023.

Since July 2022, we have conducted a series of 41 open-ended, semi-structured interviews with a total of 44 interview participants. The individuals who participated are listed in Appendix C. All participants understood that this report would present aggregated themes, with no statement attributed to any individual. Interviewees could also opt out of having their name and affiliation listed in the report. Participants were contacted via email by one member of our project team. Once each interview was scheduled, two or three members of the project team attended, with one or two dedicated to facilitating the interview and one dedicated to taking notes. Each interview took place using a virtual meeting platform (e.g., Zoom, Microsoft Teams) and lasted 30 – 60 minutes depending on the availability of the interviewee. Prior to the scheduled meeting time, we provided participants context about the purpose of the interview and our overarching questions. For each interview, we prepared a tailored guide, prioritizing a subset of our interview questions, which can be found in Appendix D.

Legislative and Executive Appointees

In HB 1277, Section 6, the Legislature directed the appointment of elected officials from the two largest caucuses in the Washington State House and Washington State Senate, who were named in 2021, and three gubernatorial appointments from the executive branch, who were named in 2022 (see Table 5). These appointments provide the project team with specific individuals with whom to engage in the State Legislature and Executive Office. During this reporting period, these appointees were updated or onboarded by email with the offer of a virtual meeting, subject to their availability. As reflected in Appendix D, some of the appointees also participated in interviews.

Table 5. *Legislative and Executive Appointments*

Name	Affiliation
Rep. Frank Chopp	Washington State House of Representatives, Democratic Caucus
Rep. Greg Gilday	Washington State House of Representatives, Republican Caucus
Sen. John Braun	Washington State Senate, Republican Caucus
Sen. Patty Kuderer	Washington State Senate, Democratic Caucus
Teesha Kirschbaum	Washington State Health Care Authority
Melodie Pazolt	Washington Department of Commerce
Theresa Slusher	Department of Social and Health Services

Conversations with Tribal Liaisons

The legislation specified that the Center interact with willing participants from tribal governments. The Center recognizes that tribal governments have a critical role, including treaty and trust rights, in housing and that government-to-government relationships with the state of Washington are an important part of housing-related policies and services. Further, tribal organizations and other organizations who serve tribal members are among those involved in providing housing-related programs and services in municipal, county, and state jurisdictions. In this reporting period, we have started by reaching out to tribal liaisons in the Department of Commerce, the Legislature, and our own institutions, the University of Washington and Washington State University. We will continue to follow up with these advisors in late 2022 and early 2023 to seek ongoing guidance on how to invite participation in ways that are meaningful and appropriate.

Our conversations so far with these advisors has provided us with guidance on good practices for our outreach as well as specific suggestions that we are currently incorporating in our ongoing cycle of individual and small group engagement. In the near term, we plan to reach out to the tribal liaisons of other state agencies providing housing assistance or related services, existing coalitions of tribal organizations working in housing, and leaders of tribal housing authorities. The insights shared with us will then inform how we invite broader participation and offer responsive timelines and opportunities for engagement for those tribes and tribal organizations who would like to interact with this work in 2023.

Interview Insights

CONCERNS, BARRIERS, AND OPPORTUNITIES

As interviewees discussed their priorities for potential facilitated discussions and what kinds of discourse and engagement they think would be most (or least) productive, most described a number of challenges as well as some areas of opportunity. While interviewees did not all share the same priorities, several areas of convergence came up throughout discussions of their top concerns. Many similar themes were raised even when interviewees were talking about the issues at different levels, from direct service provision to local and state policies and strategies. In this section, we have synthesized themes we heard around areas of concern that interviewees tended to describe as barriers to progress, or 'sticking points,' that, if 'unstuck,' could reveal new opportunities for a long-term strategy to improve how homelessness and housing instability are addressed in Washington State. Identifying these areas will inform our next cycle of engagement, when we will explore specific barriers and ideas about opportunities for change across a larger number and broader range of stakeholder perspectives.

The Challenge of Scale

Most interviewees expressed concern that the scale of homelessness seems insurmountable

and/or intractable even with expanding investment, especially given mixed results in successfully getting individuals into housing solutions. Several people highlighted a related challenge that the scale and severity of homelessness calls for speed, but the approaches that are most effective and lasting require time and patience. In parallel to concerns about the scale of homelessness, most interviewees shared a concern about the growing lack of affordable housing across income levels and the relatively small amount of public investment for affordable housing when compared to the vast need. Interviewees gave examples of difficulties in meeting the need at scale, including not just cost and time but also challenges in the areas of workforce (such as increasing burden on a limited housing assistance workforce and not enough available workforce in the building industries), policies and regulations (such as eligibility requirements and funding timeframes), and politics (such as resistance to solutions among constituents).

Response That is Not Fit-For-Purpose

Many interviewees described how the status quo of housing policies and services does not match the challenge of scale they described. Many observed that the current response similarly does not match their experiences of other aspects of addressing homelessness and housing security. One pattern described in many interviews is that the persistent need for an immediate crisis response means that leaders and service providers are stuck in a reactive mode, with so much focus needed on solving the problems of today that there is little bandwidth available – whether financial, energetic, or motivational – for how to make a more lasting shift for the future. Several people described how little capacity there is for discussions that enable reflection and learning beyond making short-term adjustments at the margins. Some interviewees shared their perspective that the system does not work for big and bold ideas. Others cited that the way things work now tends to reinforce boundaries between stakeholders, such as working in siloes or competing for resources. This can get in the way of working collaboratively even when that is needed and desired.

Factors that Contribute to Homelessness and Housing Instability

In talking about the ‘causes’ of the current homelessness and housing crisis, interviewees generally converged on multiple factors. The structural, economic, social, and health causes discussed in interviews included those identified in Section 6, HB1277 (i.e., shortage of affordable housing; local land use planning and property management policies; unemployment and lack of access to adequate wage jobs; mental health, developmental, and physical disabilities; chemical and alcohol dependency; and family instability and conflict). Interviewees also raised many of the same additional factors identified in the literature review described previously in this report (e.g., income inequality, level of wealth in a community, societal exclusion, structural racism, and access to healthcare especially for those with behavioral health needs and living with chronic illnesses). Interviewees also highlighted other specific factors – for example, challenges experienced by those transitioning into or between

systems such as immigrating to the U.S., aging out of the foster care system, or reentering the community from the criminal justice system.

While interviewees have a shared understanding of what the contributing factors are, there was divergence about which are the root, or most substantial, causes. However, a common theme that emerged among interviewees was a need to shift away from seeking to identify the 'root' causes or narrow down a small number of 'major' contributors to instead designing an approach—or approaches—that take into account both the multiple known contributing factors and the ways in which they interact.

Knowledge Base

With regard to the knowledge base about homelessness and housing instability, two main views emerged among interview participants. Some interviewees described a variation of 'we still have more to learn.' Specific examples included needing more data about the factors that contribute to homelessness and housing instability in Washington State in order to better understand how to address them and more evidence about what works. Other interviewees described the view that 'we already know what we need to know about the causes and necessary solutions, we just do not have the will to act on that knowledge.' As one put it, "we have the answers, we just don't like them." Some saw doing another study and report, including this work, as avoiding action. These interviewees each presented a sense of certainty about what actions are needed, but the actions they were certain about were not always the same.

Between these two seemingly opposite views, some interviewees expressed a more intermediate position, with common ground about some areas of need, such as wanting more knowledge about how best to apply examples of successful approaches to diverse contexts and on a larger scale and concerns about the accuracy, accessibility, and utility of some of the data currently being collected. Among those sharing this perspective, there was a divergence in their comfort level with proceeding based on 'best available' knowledge versus waiting to proceed until more clarity is achieved on what is most likely to work.

Differences in Worldviews

Many interviewees noted that addressing homelessness is difficult in part because of the diverse range of worldviews and multiple, sometimes differing, entrenched narratives about people who experience homelessness, the causes, and the solutions. Among interviewees, some of those differences are clearly recognized, while others may go unrecognized or may be described using language in different ways. Several described a cycle in which reactions to the increasing visibility of, and attention to, homelessness may reinforce ideas or policies that are already entrenched more than it opens up new possibilities.

Interdependencies

Most interviewees brought up one or more major forms of interdependence related to

housing and homelessness. In some cases, intersections with other sectors such as health and housing were described as opportunities, but often the theme of interdependence manifested as a concern about fragmentation or silos as a barrier. These included fragmentation across levels of government and jurisdictions, between the public and private sectors, and across domains of policies, programs, and services (health, social services, employment, funding, transportation, planning, and land use). Some further described fragmentation within these categories. One area of fragmentation described by many interviewees is that programs and services are delivered at the local level and are dependent on context, yet many policies and funding mechanisms remain at the regional, state, and federal levels. Some shared that the understanding of success itself becomes fragmented, as what 'counts' as success differs across levels of government as well as across service sectors. This can be problematic when what contributes to whether success is achieved varies for different populations and in different contexts.

Many interviewees highlighted challenges resulting from interdependencies with the dynamics of supply and demand in the housing market, which they observed tend to be separate from the spheres of influence of those who are involved in homelessness and housing instability. A few went even more broad, noting that there could be both challenges and opportunities as a result of interdependencies with other major issues facing the state, such as the pandemic recovery, economic stability and growth, income and wealth inequality, and climate change.

Sense of Opportunity

When asked about what might make this an opportune time to explore a long-term strategy, many participants described the current elevated attention being paid to housing and homelessness as a window of opportunity. Across interviewees, they saw increasing attention in a variety of contexts, such as:

- Media coverage
- Public sentiment
- Role in political campaigns
- Presence in policy discussions
- Number of people experiencing homelessness
- Visibility of encampments
- Increasing sense of "crisis"
- Widening impact of housing unaffordability

Other concurrent factors that interviewees saw as making this an opportune time for a shift in the status quo included the trend of increased bipartisan support for bills related to housing and homelessness. A few participants specifically mentioned [House Bill 1220](#) as a window of opportunity because of its inclusion of by-county housing needs assessments at different price points, target setting, and reporting. Others mentioned that the recent investments and

policy changes related to the pandemic and the recent integration of housing in Medicaid have created the opportunity to try new or scaled up approaches. While interviewees often expressed cautiousness regarding not yet knowing how effective these will be, they also described them as having opened a new sense of possibility.

DESIRED PRINCIPLES

To help us prepare for future facilitated discussions about desired principles in a long-term strategy, we asked interviewees what they see as core principles that should guide services and policies related to housing. There was variation in their perspectives on what the specific principles should be. However, several thematic areas emerged as important to focus on when we broaden our facilitation about desired principles, including:

- Interdependency of homelessness and housing affordability
- Achieving an equitable response to the homelessness and housing crisis
- Rights, responsibilities, and accountability
- Speed and sustainability
- Central consistency and local specificity
- Clarity about whose voices should contribute in what ways
- Interdependency of roles and responsibilities across sectors, levels, and jurisdictions

FUNDAMENTAL QUESTIONS

We also asked interviewees what they identify as the fundamental questions that need to be explored about homelessness and housing instability. Their responses reflected considerable variety, but overall people tended to talk about the questions they raised in three broad ways:

- foundational questions around which shared understanding or coherence is needed to make progress;
- difficult questions that tend to be avoided or left unresolved, cause conflict, or seem intractable; and
- transformative questions that have the most potential to shift the status quo and change things in significant ways.

Interviewees raised and discussed some questions in ways that could fall into more than one of these categories. For example, some difficult questions would need to be grappled with in order to reach shared understanding. Other difficult questions could, if navigated successfully, transform how those working to address housing instability and homelessness approach the issues. While acknowledging that overlap and interconnectedness, in Figure 9 we have synthesized the questions raised in the category in which the conversations about them most typically aligned.

Figure 9.

Foundational Questions

- *What are the reasons we have this crisis?*
- *What is the fundamental 'core' that everyone can agree to?*
- *Where is coherence/ agreement necessary and where can differentiation be functional?*
- *What components make up a 'pathway to housing security'?*
- *Do funding mechanisms match desired outcomes or principles?*
- *How can we most usefully contextualize and adapt examples/ evidence from one place to another?*
- *What needs to be universal/foundational about programs and services and what can be flexible/tailored to local context?*
- *What individual, programmatic, and systemic interdependencies are essential?*
- *What needs to be coordinated at what level (e.g., policies, systems, services, individuals)?*
- *Who can address which aspects of the problem?*
- *How should funding be allocated? By services or products provided? By individuals or communities served?*
- *What interactions across levels, sectors, and types of services are needed to sustain a mutual understanding of what success looks like?*
- *What does the housing workforce need to be?*
- *How do we make progress toward both acute and long-term needs?*
- *How can we intentionally embed what we need to do for the short term in what we strive to achieve in the long term?*

Figure 9. cont.

Difficult Questions

- What is the role of government?
- What possibilities are there with regard to the for-profit housing market and housing's role as an investment or commodity?
- Do the services we invest in match the needs?
- What is the common ground between requirement-driven and low-barrier approaches?
- What would take 'anywhere but here' off the table?
- How can the politics be named and navigated more productively?
- What mental models coexist in the 'ecosystem'? How much divergence or convergence is there among them? How do they effect the feasibility and acceptability of potential actions?
- What unifies the various 'mobilized' forces? What differentiates them? What divides them?
- How are homelessness and housing instability viewed and how does that affect our ability to converge on policies and services?
- What are we collectively willing to do?

Transformative Questions

- What conditions would make it possible for big ideas and transformative changes to be taken up?
- If there is a shift in objectives, what could it shift to?
- How do we need to structure learning and adaption to support a long-term strategy? What do we most need to know? Who holds what knowledge?
- What do people experiencing or at risk of homelessness and housing instability need and want, in their own terms?
- What is the role of the next generation in a long-term strategy? What needs to be done to change the practices and mindsets of those currently working in the system compared to those who will be working in the system in the coming decades?
- What would it look like to design the long-term strategy around the interdependencies?
- How are decisions made? Who decides? Who influences decisions? How can current governance be changed to better match what is needed?

ENGAGEMENT PROCESS SUGGESTIONS AND CAUTIONS

Interviewees offered many useful insights to inform the design of our engagement processes. Most tended to favor smaller engagements and recognized the need to incorporate diverse perspectives from across the housing landscape, including new combinations of perspectives. With some exceptions, interviewees suggested that the focus of our engagement shouldn't be too narrow. However, as described above, they expressed a variety of views regarding priorities for the content and scope of engagements. Many noted the importance of framing complicated ideas in accurate, yet manageable, ways.

Many interviewees emphasized the need to incorporate those with direct experience of homelessness or housing instability and those directly providing services. Several specifically mentioned the potential for our process to benefit from lessons learned from the process of the Governor's Poverty Reduction Working Group.⁵¹ Several interviewees recommended that honoraria be offered in recognition of the time and expertise participants share. In particular, they cautioned that those whose current employment does not cover participation in these kinds of engagement, such as those with expertise from their lived experience of homelessness and many frontline service providers, should not be expected to participate without compensation and other means of offsetting the cost of participating (e.g., transportation, childcare, or foregone work shifts). Some also emphasized the importance of using trauma-informed approaches when including those who have experienced homelessness or housing instability.

Many interviewees shared the following note of caution: both the overwhelming scale of the housing need and a sense of fatigue after many decades of strategies and workgroups and investments have contributed to widespread feelings of frustration and burnout. Several observed that it's difficult for people to consider new ideas. They noted varying reasons why certain ideas are difficult to discuss, such as public perceptions, politics, competition for resources, a history of perceived false promises or surface level engagements, a lack of shared understanding or knowledge, and the potential for engagement to be retraumatizing.

Laying the Groundwork for a Long-Term Strategy

The insights shared by stakeholders we have heard from so far have provided a range and depth of perspectives that surfaced many themes and questions that could be explored in our expanded cycle of facilitated discussions in 2023. In our analysis as we synthesized these insights, we recognized three overarching takeaways that will guide us as we proceed. These include a deepening understanding of the effects of the inherent complexity of housing security; key tensions that need to be grappled with to get to a coherent, effective, and widely accepted strategy; and the multiple conditions that are needed in order to develop a long-term strategy.

⁵¹ <https://dismantlepovertyinwa.com>

NAVIGATING THE COMPLEXITY OF HOUSING

Taken together, the range of perspectives shared by interviewees painted a picture of the complex and interdependent pieces that make up the housing assistance landscape in Washington State. The systems, services, and providers that contribute to housing assistance are situated in various, sometimes disparate contexts. Our interviews made clear that a wide range of services are relevant and needed, but are also implemented in various settings, by practitioners from many disciplines, funded through multiple governmental and nongovernmental sources, and operating under the management or regulatory oversight of diverse agencies with varying policies, incentives, and constraints. As a result, achieving coherence is challenging, and efforts to address homelessness and housing instability are often siloed and fragmented.

Yet the concept of housing security itself is arguably even more complex. Housing needs are often thought of in categories, for example: emergency shelter, supportive housing, transitional housing, affordable housing, the real estate market. While different interviewees described distinct aspects of each category, it also became clear that housing security is a continuum, and effective programs or policies in any of the categories ultimately depend on the state of the rest of the categories. For instance, emergency shelter is temporary by design, but serves that function well only if there is a connection to affordable permanent housing options, for which availability is affected by the housing market, which shifts alongside patterns of growth and the economy. A few interviewees described how housing security intersects with other factors that contribute to whether individuals, families, and communities can thrive, such as economic security, health, and safety.

CENTRAL TENSIONS

In Section 6 of HB 1277, the Legislature outlined several components that should be included in a long-term strategy to improve outcomes for individuals. Those include:

- address the root causes of the problem,
- clearly assign responsibilities,
- support localization both to address specific community needs and to recognize that each community must play a part in the solution,
- respect property owner rights,
- encourage private sector involvement in solutions and service, and
- develop pathways to permanent housing solutions and associated services.

Our discussions with stakeholders reinforce, deepen, and expand upon the elements put forth in the legislation. Further, the insights shared by interviewees helped elucidate that many

of the components warranted in a long-term strategy have aspects that are in tension with each other, and navigating those tensions is necessary for a coherent, effective, and widely accepted strategy. Some of these tensions were explicitly named by interviewees as areas of conflict or sensitivity that get in the way of progress, while others became apparent in our analysis across interviews.

Although not a comprehensive list, Figure 10 synthesizes some of the tensions that stood out most across interviews. As we design our next cycles of facilitated discussions, we will pay close attention to these tensions as important spaces for opportunity. Illuminating and grappling with tensions in complex issues can create dynamic energy, supply diversity of thought, and bring focus to the areas that have the most potential to produce meaningful change. These tensions could be areas of opportunity if the discourse shifts away from treating them as discrete and opposing choices (e.g., right or wrong; most or least important). Instead, a more constructive view would be to recognize them as coexisting considerations that reveal a continuum of options needing sustained attention.

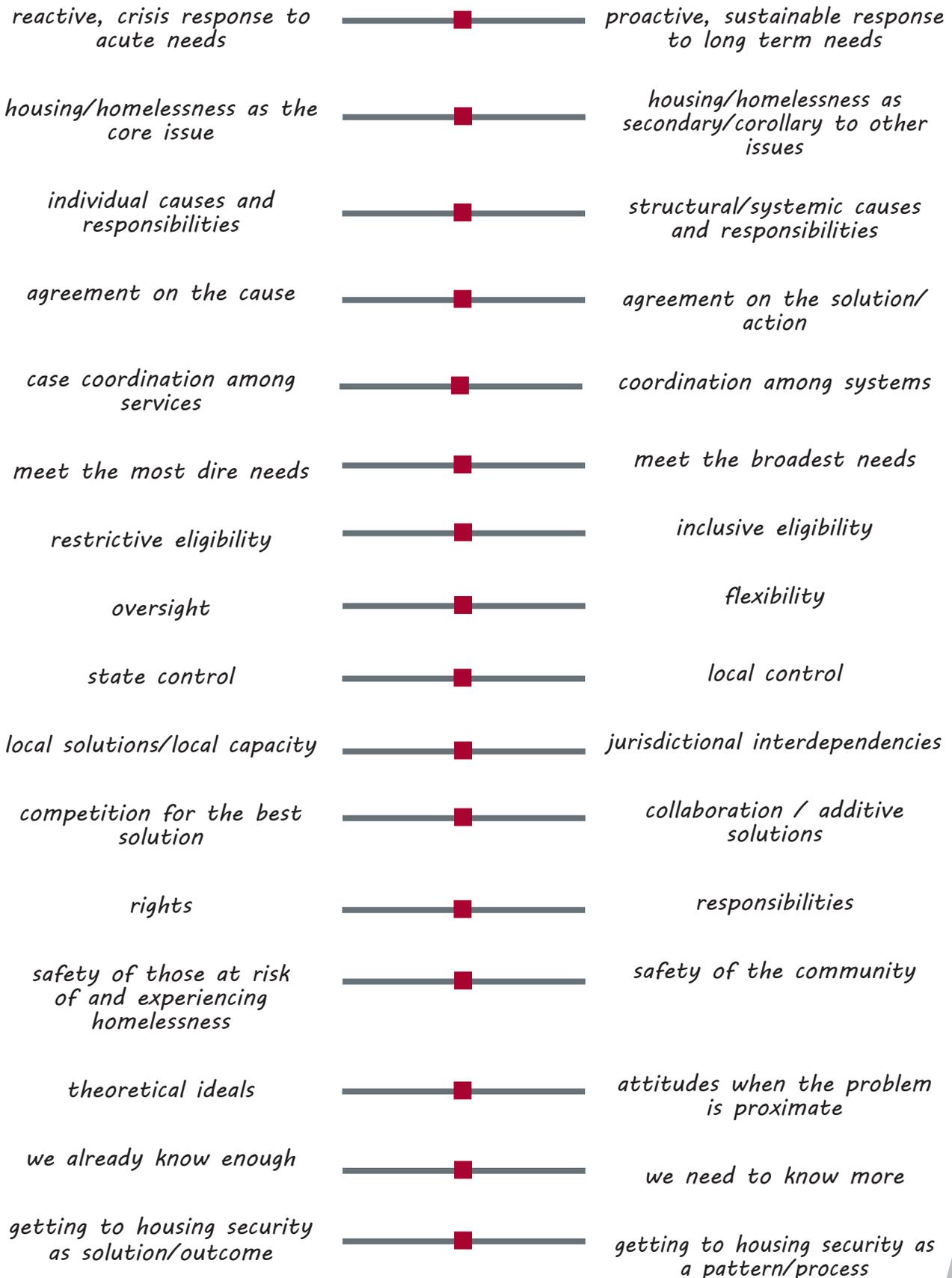
Further, many of these tensions are connected to each other such that choices affecting one will have an impact on others. For instance, the balance between state control and local control is related to the balance between oversight and flexibility. In another example, where the understanding of the causes lies between individual and structural factors affects how much agreement there is on the extent to which solutions, such as coordination, need to be individual or systemic. The discourse could become more productive if it is less about making the case for either one or the other and more about what adjustments to the balance between and among them is needed to better address homelessness and housing instability.

CONDITIONS NEEDED FOR A LONG-TERM STRATEGY

The insights so far from this cycle of interviews have also begun to identify and clarify what conditions would be needed in order to formulate and implement a long-term strategy to make sustained progress towards housing security in Washington State. These conditions include grappling with central tensions, recognizing a holistic and complex view of the issues, adopting a systems lens that takes into account inherent interdependencies, cultivating a shared foundational understanding, identifying guiding principles, and building and sustaining trusting relationships. Tending to these conditions will make it possible to develop a strategy that provides a coherent framework in which to formulate, assess, and adapt actions over time that can work in combination – and risk failing in isolation. Some aspects of this foundational work are already underway, and as our work continues in 2023 it will be designed to build on that towards an ongoing and evolving strategic approach for Washington State.

Figure 10.

Tensions that stood out most across interviews



Looking Ahead: Stakeholder Discussion Plans for 2023

In HB 1277 Section 6, part (2)(d) the Legislature directs the Center’s work to culminate in facilitated discussions for the purposes of identifying options and recommendations to develop and implement a long-term strategy. Building on the emerging themes and ideas from our stakeholder discussions so far, we will continue to be guided by the *Deliberative Cycle of Inquiry* model as we both broaden our collaborative engagement and focus our design to iteratively identify, refine, and seek convergence on options and recommendations.

GUIDING QUESTIONS FOR DESIGN OF FACILITATED DISCUSSIONS

In our design and implementation of this work, we will use a few guiding questions to ensure productive progress toward building a long-term strategy. These questions include: (1) how can our work productively add to already existing efforts without duplicating, (2) how do we invigorate energy around the issues of homelessness and housing instability, and (3) what content should be addressed now?

Building On What Exists

A reoccurring perspective that surfaced in our interviews was the idea that ‘we do not need another report.’ This was often associated with frustration that efforts continue to spend money ‘finding answers we already know.’ This feeling was not universally shared; however, because it emerged as a prominent feeling across diverse leaders working to address homelessness and housing insecurity, it requires attention as we move forward in bringing divergent voices together. Further, we recognize that currently thousands of entities and organizations across the state work on this issue at different scales, contributing in different ways. Our interviews to date have provided insight from key players doing the work on how to engage relevant stakeholders to build trust in each other and facilitate opportunities to contribute together in new ways of seeking sustained responses to homelessness and housing instability. As we continue to convene and facilitate broader collaborative processes in 2023, we will use previous and current efforts and knowledge as building blocks. Due to our expressed commitment to contributing in new ways, nearly all individuals interviewed have expressed their willingness to continue to engage with us.

Invigorating Discussion

Connected to our emphasis on adding new value is a recognition of fatigue. As many interviewees noted, people working to address homelessness and housing instability have been doing so for years, only to see increasing numbers of people living unsheltered, a reality that was compounded by the COVID-19 pandemic. There is a sense that, even to the extent that we have effective solutions, intervention is not happening at a sufficient scale to address the issue. Some interviewees recognized a lack of new perspectives seeking to help address the issue and saw potential for new perspectives to bring new ideas and energy. In a related

line of thinking, some raised the idea that a long-term strategy might benefit from more involvement from the next generation who will continue efforts. Recognizing these insights, the Center is dedicated to designing engagement that ensures diversity across facilitated event participants and brings new excitement to address homelessness and housing instability. Our 2023 efforts will therefore be guided by questions such as:

- How can we reframe the questions that have historically been asked? What new questions would bring new energy?
- How can new areas of connection be forged? How can we bring in those who have not previously been included?
- How can our engagement break away from traditional structures and invite active involvement?
- How can our work learn from failures and struggles while productively centering areas of success and possibility?

What To Focus On First

The final main guiding question is what should be the focus of our 2023 engagement? Homelessness is a large compounding issue. Housing instability is a large compounding issue. Taking on these two issues together in identifying a long-term strategy that spans across multiple communities and experiences necessitates a long-term strategic process. Earlier in the report we synthesized three types of interconnected questions that we heard from interviewees, (1) foundational questions, (2) difficult questions, and (3) transformative questions. We also described how the interview insights helped identify multiple conditions that are needed for an effective long-term strategy. Our facilitated discussions in the next year will not be able to address all of the important questions nor will we be able to tend to all of the conditions needed. As we draw on the many ideas and suggestion from interviewees to design opportunities for collaborative engagement, we will balance what we were asked to achieve; what is feasible in the available timeframe; what near-term actions can fuel a long-term strategy; and what would be the most productive, reinvigorating, and least redundant place to help Washington State start on a renewed and robust long-term trajectory towards housing security.

CYCLES OF FACILITATED DISCUSSIONS

Most interviewees suggested that smaller engagements are most needed for this work. Consistent with that, in 2023 we will begin by convening smaller groups in collaborative discourse which we design based on what we have elicited so far in the fact-finding and stakeholder discussions. To start, these groups will be convened around similar interests, practices, and backgrounds, as well as some mixed perspectives that we recognize as potentially benefiting from interaction and collaboration. These smaller discussions will help

us narrow down what strategic subset of questions to focus on while helping to prioritize concerns and elicit options. In parallel, we will continuously regroup to deepen our analysis of the issues based on new collaborative insights and plan subsequent facilitated convenings.

These subsequent events will then bring the collaborative knowledge gained, and individuals who participated, from the smaller enclaves to larger facilitated processes that engage diverse individuals from across sectors and perspectives. These larger processes will continue to be built around areas that we have identified through stakeholder input as the most productive options and recommendations for a long-term strategy. The iteration from a cycle of smaller convenings that feed into a cycle of subsequent larger convenings will enable us to respond to observations from interviewees both that smaller engagements are likely to be more productive and that ultimately there is a need to integrate diverse perspectives from across the housing landscape.

IV. Conclusion

In this second report, we have provided an overview of progress so far in conducting the Legislature's requested fact-finding and stakeholder discussions. This has yielded information about the multiple interacting factors that contribute to homelessness, the complex landscape of policies and services related to housing assistance that is offered in the state, and the many areas of concern to be explored and the conditions that need to be tended to for it to be possible to make progress toward a long-term strategy for housing security in Washington.

We will now turn our efforts to the work we have planned for 2023, laid out in an updated summary project workplan in Appendix E. As we shift to the next cycles of work, we will continue to employ multiple methodologies in an iterative approach. Using the available knowledge base and broadening our facilitated discussions, we will identify desired principles, options, and recommendations for a long-term strategy, with clarity about the degree of convergence across the various sources of information we have gathered. We anticipate that in our final report in December 2023 we will be able to include guiding principles; potential components for a long-term strategy, with ways to guide investment decisions and ways to assess whether those investments are contributing to the desired results; tangible next steps needed to develop such a strategy; and areas that will benefit from continuous engagement to build and act on collaborative knowledge.

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Appendix A: HB1277, Section 6

1 NEW SECTION.

Sec. 6.

 (1)(a) The legislature finds that affordable housing, housing instability, and homelessness are persistent and increasing problems throughout the state. Despite significant increases in financial resources by the federal, state, and local governments to address these problems, homelessness and the risk of becoming homeless has worsened in Washington since the legislature authorized the first homeless housing document recording surcharge in 2005. The number of unsheltered homeless encampments in greenbelts, under bridges, and on our streets is a visible reminder that the current system is not working.

 (b) The legislature finds that the COVID-19 pandemic has exacerbated and shed new light on the state's homelessness problems and forced communities and providers to reexamine the types and delivery of housing and services to individuals and families who are homeless or at risk of homelessness. As a result of the changing conditions COVID-19 created, the federal government has provided an infusion of funding for housing and services for homelessness populations in its COVID-19 relief bills to pursue different strategies to improve outcomes. Moreover, there are various proposals to increase state funding to address housing insecurity and homelessness, including this act to impose an additional document recording fee to fund an eviction prevention rental assistance program and other services to persons at risk or experiencing homelessness.

 (c) The legislature also finds that there are many causes of homelessness and housing instability, including: (i) A shortage of affordable housing; (ii) local land use planning and property management policies that discourage the development of private sector housing stock to serve low and extremely low-income households; (iii) unemployment and lack of education and job skills to acquire an adequate wage job; (iv) mental health, developmental, and physical disabilities; (v) chemical and alcohol dependency; and (vi) family instability and conflict. The legislature intends to provide for an examination of the economic, social, and health causes of current and expected patterns of housing instability and homelessness, and to secure a common understanding of the contribution each has to the current crisis. The legislature intends for this examination to result in a widely accepted strategy for identifying how best to address homelessness in ways that: (A) Address the root causes of the problem; (B) clearly assign responsibilities of state and local

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1 government to address those causes; (C) support local control and
2 provision of services at the local level to address specific
3 community needs, recognizing each community must play a part in the
4 solution; (D) respect property owner rights and encourage private
5 sector involvement in solutions and service; and (E) develop pathways
6 to permanent housing solutions and associated services to break the
7 cycle of housing insecurity and homelessness.

8 (2) (a) The department of commerce must contract with the William
9 D. Ruckelshaus center to conduct an examination of trends affecting,
10 and policies guiding, the housing and services provided to
11 individuals and families who are or at risk of homelessness in
12 Washington. The center must also facilitate meetings and discussions
13 to develop and implement a long-term strategy to improve services and
14 outcomes for persons at risk or experiencing homelessness and develop
15 pathways to permanent housing solutions.

16 (b) In fulfilling the requirements of this section, the center
17 must work and consult with (i) willing participants representing
18 tribal and local governments, local providers of housing and services
19 for homeless populations, advocates and stakeholders representing the
20 interests of homeless populations, mental health and substance abuse
21 professionals, representatives of the business community and other
22 organizations, and other representatives the center determines is a
23 necessary participant to examine these issues; (ii) a group of
24 legislators consisting of one member from each of the two largest
25 caucuses in the senate and in the house of representatives appointed
26 by the president of the senate and the speaker of the house of
27 representatives, respectively; and (iii) three representatives of the
28 executive branch appointed by the governor.

29 (c) (i) The center must conduct fact-finding and stakeholder
30 discussions with participants identified in (b) of this subsection.
31 These discussions must identify stakeholder concerns, barriers,
32 opportunities, and desired principles for a long-term strategy to
33 improve the outcomes and services for persons at risk or experiencing
34 homelessness and develop pathways to permanent housing solutions.

35 (ii) The center must conduct fact-finding and stakeholder
36 discussions with participants identified in (b) of this subsection to
37 identify root causes of housing instability and homelessness within
38 Washington state. This fact-finding should address root causes
39 demographically within subpopulations of persons at risk or
40 experiencing homelessness such as veterans and persons suffering from

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1 mental health or substance abuse issues. The fact-finding should also
2 address root causes that may differ geographically or regionally. The
3 fact-finding must identify existing statutory and regulatory issues
4 that impede efforts to address root causes of housing instability and
5 homelessness within Washington state.

6 (iii) The center must issue two reports of its fact-finding
7 efforts and stakeholder discussions to the governor and the
8 appropriate committees of the house of representatives and the
9 senate. One report on the subjects covered in (c)(i) of this
10 subsection is due December 1, 2021, and one on the subjects covered
11 in (c)(ii) of this subsection is due December 1, 2022.

12 (d) The center must facilitate discussions between the
13 stakeholders identified in this subsection (2) for the purposes of
14 identifying options and recommendations to develop and implement a
15 long-term strategy to improve the outcomes and service for persons at
16 risk or experiencing homelessness and develop pathways to permanent
17 housing solutions, including the manner and amount in which the state
18 funds homelessness housing and services and performance measures that
19 must be achieved to receive state funding. A report on this effort is
20 due to the governor and the appropriate committees of the house of
21 representatives and the senate by December 1, 2023.

22 **Sec. 7.** RCW 36.22.178 and 2019 c 136 s 1 are each amended to
23 read as follows:

24 The surcharge provided for in this section shall be named the
25 affordable housing for all surcharge.

26 (1) Except as provided in subsection (3) of this section, a
27 surcharge of thirteen dollars per instrument shall be charged by the
28 county auditor for each document recorded, which will be in addition
29 to any other charge authorized by law. The county may retain up to
30 five percent of these funds collected solely for the collection,
31 administration, and local distribution of these funds. Of the
32 remaining funds, forty percent of the revenue generated through this
33 surcharge will be transmitted monthly to the state treasurer who will
34 deposit: (a) The portion of the funds attributable to ten dollars of
35 the surcharge into the affordable housing for all account created in
36 RCW 43.185C.190. The department of commerce must use these funds to
37 provide housing and shelter for extremely low-income households,
38 including but not limited to housing for victims of human trafficking
39 and their families and grants for building operation and maintenance



Division of Governmental Studies and Services

WASHINGTON STATE UNIVERSITY
EXTENSION

Serving as a model for successful University engagement to address critical issues facing Washington and the Pacific Northwest, DGSS:

- Provides data, processes, and expertise in support of strategic, operational decision-making, and policy initiatives
- Leverages the resources of Washington's land-grant research university
- Mobilizes the enthusiasm, energy, and fresh perspective of WSU students
- Advances the knowledge-base and enhances capacity of stakeholders
- Offers impartial viewpoints, approaches, and services
- Serves as a key partner and collaborator with stakeholders

DGSS makes a difference beyond our projects – using unique project experience to contribute to national dialogue – to address issues throughout the region.

Governance & Sustainability

The Division of Governmental Studies and Services (DGSS) delivers the innovation, research, and knowledge base of a premier research university to local, state, and federal governments, tribes, and non-governmental and private organizations. Since its founding in 1964 as a research and outreach unit of WSU's Political Science Department, DGSS has been a trusted partner in providing applied research, technical assistance, and training to the people and places of the Pacific Northwest. In its 56th year, DGSS serves as a research and outreach unit of WSU Extension working to improve the quality of life in Washington and the Pacific Northwest.



A key part of DGSS's expertise involves working with local, state and federal government entities to help evaluate the efficiency of policies and programs and to aid in future planning. DGSS provides a variety of technical assistance to public entities, including training, data collection, and analysis. DGSS specializes in community engagement, community and economic development, and facilitation, as well as planning support.

The DGSS team has helped numerous organizations in the following areas:

- Program Evaluation
- Needs Assessment
- Inter-agency Cooperation
- Resource Management
- Collaboration Opportunities and Collaborative Approaches
- Facilitation and Planning Support
- Voluntary Stewardship
- Improving Efficiency
- Capacity Building
- Ethics Training



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Digital Initiatives

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The Program for Digital Initiatives (PDI) empowers individuals, businesses, communities and other organizations by increasing technology awareness, access, and adoption. It allows digital technology to be applied in ways that result in greater participation in our growing knowledge-based society.

PDI focuses on business, sustainability, development initiatives supporting digital technologies and community and economic resilience. DGSS works in partnership with government agencies, non-governmental organizations, and the private sector to assist with promotion, assessment, policy development, program implementation, training, research, and evaluation.

For more than 25 years, DGSS has helped organizations in the following areas:

- Telework
- Business Continuity/COOP
- Broadband Planning
- e-Commerce Training
- Community Technology Opportunities





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Public Safety

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DGSS has worked with law enforcement, fire service, and other public safety entities across the region to address key issues in public safety.

DGSS utilizes its expertise in applied research and program evaluation to help public safety entities examine their effectiveness, enhance citizen engagement, evaluate impact of policies, and improve services, as well as enhance organization training.

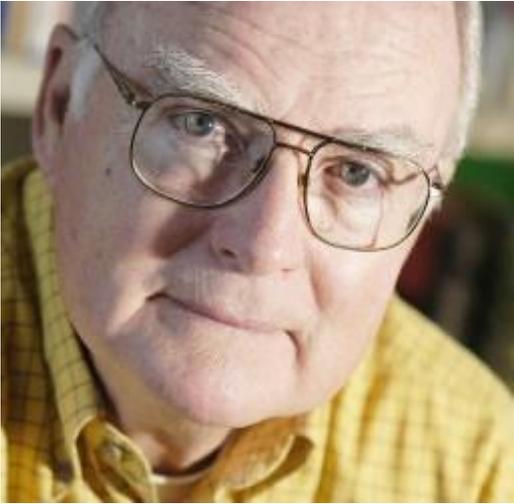
DGSS has conducted numerous public safety studies in the following topics:

- Biased Policing
- Drug Recognition Expert Programs
- Community Policing
- Law Enforcement and Fire Service Training Evaluation
- Smart Policing
- Community Emergency Response Training
- Forecast Modeling
- Needs Assessments



THE WILLIAM D. RUCKELSHAUS CENTER

UNIVERSITY OF WASHINGTON



“Collaborative problem solving is an enormously powerful approach to resolving conflicts; it holds great promise for better, faster and more sustainable policy decisions. With the combined resources of our premier research institutions, this center establishes an invaluable neutral forum for addressing some of our most complex and pressing challenges.”

- WILLIAM D. RUCKELSHAUS

For more information on the William D. Ruckelshaus Center, please visit our website at:
RuckelshausCenter.wsu.edu

ABOUT THE RUCKELSHAUS CENTER

MISSION

The mission of the William D. Ruckelshaus Center is to help parties involved in complex public policy challenges in the State of Washington and the Pacific Northwest tap university expertise to develop collaborative, durable, and effective solutions.

VISION

The Center envisions a future in which government leaders, policy makers, and community members routinely employ tools of collaborative decision-making to design, conduct, and implement successful public policy processes.

IDENTITY

We are a joint effort of Washington State University, hosted and administered by WSU Extension, and the University of Washington, hosted through the Daniel J. Evans School of Public Policy and Governance. Building on the unique strengths of these two institutions, the Center applies university resources and knowledge towards solving challenging public policy issues.

VALUES

Collaboration, consensus, equity, knowledge, education, inquiry, and independence.

WHAT WE DO

The Ruckelshaus Center helps people work together to develop shared solutions to challenging public policy issues. Areas where we work include:

- Community and Economic Development
- Land Use
- Natural Resources
- Transportation
- Agriculture
- Healthcare
- Tribal, Federal, State, and Local Governance

We build problem-solving capacity in the region by helping individuals and organizations better understand, initiate, participate in, and lead collaborative public policy efforts.

WHO WE SERVE

The Center assists public, private, tribal, nonprofit, and other leaders to build consensus, resolve conflicts, and develop innovative, shared solutions for Washington and the Pacific Northwest.

"You brought collaborative problem solving, you brought trust, and you shifted the discussion."

-MAIA BELLON

*Former Director, Washington State
Department of Ecology*



HOW WE DO IT

- Provide a neutral and safe forum for parties to constructively define shared goals and resolve differences
- Conduct a situation assessment to determine how parties should proceed with a collaborative approach
- Provide facilitation, mediation, dispute resolution, project management, strategic planning, and other services that help parties reach consensus and resolve issues
- Provide diverse groups with a common information base via university research and fact finding
- Provide knowledge, training, and tools to improve the collaborative problem-solving abilities of individuals and organizations
- Host policy discussions in the form of guest lectures, conferences, and our Ruckelshaus Circle Luncheon

GOVERNANCE AND FUNDING

We are guided by an Advisory Board which includes prominent leaders representing a broad range of constituencies from across Washington and both chambers/parties in the Legislature. Funding for the Center is sought from a mix of sources, including foundations, corporations, individuals, agencies, other state and federal sources, and fee-for-service contracts, when appropriate.

WSU Extension and UW Evans School of Public Policy and Governance programs and employment are available to all without discrimination.

Contact Us!

(206) 428-3021

RuckelshausCenter@wsu.edu



WASHINGTON STATE UNIVERSITY
EXTENSION

W
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OF PUBLIC POLICY & GOVERNANCE
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Paul Ward, Columbia River Inter-Tribal Fish Commission *
Judy Warnick, WA Senate +
Cindy Zehnder, Gordon Thomas Honeywell Gov. Affairs *

* Executive Committee Member

** Development Committee Member

+ Ex-Officio Member

Updated February 2022

Appendix C: Interviewees in 2022

The following list reflects the names and affiliations of individuals who participated in interviews and informed the development of this report.

Name	Affiliations
Francis Adewale	Spokane Community Court; Washington State Reentry Council
Dave Andersen	Washington State Department of Commerce
Jacob Bezanson	Washington State Department of Corrections
Sherri Berdine	University of Washington Office of External Affairs
Senator John Braun	Washington State Senate
Paul Carlson	Seattle University; United States Interagency Council on Homelessness
Hong Chhuor	Plymouth Housing Group
Representative Frank Chopp	Washington State House of Representatives
Gregg Colburn	University of Washington Runstad Department of Real Estate
Marc Dones	King County Regional Homelessness Authority
Mahnaz Eshetu	Refugee Women's Alliance
Rachel Fyall	University of Washington Evans School of Public Policy & Governance
Kristina Giscombe	Plymouth Housing Group
Michelle Gladstone-Wade	Washington State Department of Commerce
Emily Grossman	Washington State Department of Commerce
Conor Hansen	SRM Construction; Washington State Affordable Housing Advisory Board
Molly Harbarger	The Seattle Times
Drayton Jackson	Foundation of Homeless & Poverty Management; Governor's Poverty Reduction Workgroup Steering Committee
Kirsten Jewell	Kitsap County Housing & Homelessness Division; Washington State Advisory Council on Homelessness
Eric Johnson	Washington State Association of Counties
Ron Judd	Washington State Department of Transportation
Kim Justice	Washington State Office of Homeless Youth
Tedd Kelleher	Washington State Department of Commerce
Lowel Krueger	Association of Washington Housing Authorities; Yakima Housing Authority
Senator Patty Kuderer	Washington State House of Representatives

Noha Mahgoub	Washington State Office of the Governor
Marianne Marlow	Washington Mental Health Counselors Association
Tiffani McCoy	Real Change
Katy Miller	United States Interagency Council on Homelessness
Rachael Myers	Washington Low Income Housing Alliance
Linda Olsen	Washington State Advisory Council on Homelessness; Washington State Coalition Against Domestic Violence
Faith Pettis	Pacifica Law Group; Seattle Housing Affordability & Livability Task Force
Kenneth Pimpleton	Tacoma Community College Human Services Program; Washington State Department of Health Substance Use Disorder Professional Advisory Committee
Tim Probst	Governor's Poverty Reduction Workgroup; Washington State Employment Security Department
Kurtis Robinson	Revive Center for Returning Citizens
Senator June Robinson	Washington State Senate
Rodney Robinson	Campaign to Prevent & End Youth & Young Adult Homelessness in Pierce County; Pierce County Continuum of Care Oversight Committee
Paul Rosenthal	Plymouth Housing Group
Bill Rumpf	Mercy Housing Northwest; Washington State Housing Finance Commission
Carl Schroeder	Association of Washington Cities
Theresa Slusher	Washington State Department of Social & Health Services
Andi Smith	Ballmer Group
Paul Trautman	Community Frameworks Spokane; Washington State Affordable Housing Advisory Board
Jenny White	Washington Mental Health Counselors Association

Appendix D: Guiding Questions for Discussions

For us to explore what is needed for a long-term strategy, what engagement processes would you suggest?

- What has been successful in other efforts to collaborate on strategy?
- When have you seen things push past the status quo and how has that happened?
- What needs to change in the conversation about housing and homelessness? What would make that change possible?
- What shift in objectives, or participants, or approaches could bring new energy and possibilities for progress?
- What would effectively take into account interdependencies?
- What would it take for this to be an opportune moment for change? To what extent do you see those conditions now or foresee them in the future?

What processes do you think would not be productive?

- What tends to be avoided or left unresolved?
- What do you think is needed to address any existing stalemates or difficult relationships?
- Where do efforts to hold difficult conversations get stuck or backfire?

What fundamental questions need to be asked about homelessness and housing instability?

- What important questions are going unasked?
- What questions would be asked by those experiencing housing instability or providing services that are not being asked by policy makers?
- What might make this an opportune time to explore these questions?
- How should these questions be discussed differently than in the past?
- What foregone conclusions or common assumptions have a stronghold?
- Which questions are hardest for people to discuss, and why?
- What information is missing that has held up progress?

Who needs to interact more about addressing homelessness and housing instability?

- What would those interactions yield?
- Who do you wish you interacted with more? What would you most like to share with and learn from them?
- What part of your perspective or knowledge do you think others are missing?
- What do you wish you knew more about?
- What do you wish you had more time to discuss with others?
- Who needs to be more involved to explore questions about homelessness and housing instability?
- What perspectives or interests tend to dominate? What perspectives go unheard?

What core principles should guide policies and services for homelessness and housing?

- Which principles do you think have wide agreement?
- Which would likely be areas of disagreement?
- Is agreement needed in those areas?
- What could help get to alignment despite differences?

Appendix E: Updated Project Workplan

A broad overview of the project and the goals of each reporting year are presented below. Given the scope, schedule, and complexity of this undertaking, the scope and timing of these components will continue to evolve in response to the outcomes of the work as it is conducted. The final report on legislative tasks is due to the Office of the Governor and appropriate committees of the Legislature on December 1, 2023.

Year 1: July – December 2021

Project Establishment, Fact Finding, and Initial Stakeholder Discussions

1. Multi-disciplinary team development
2. Brief history of homelessness and chronology of events
3. Landscape of the root causes of homelessness
4. Identification of sectors and stakeholders
5. Initial semi-structured interviews
6. Delivery of Report 1 on December 1, 2021

Year 2: January – December 2022

Literature Review, Descriptive Analyses, and Ongoing Stakeholder Discussions

1. Review of social science literature on root causes
2. Descriptive analysis of current scope of homelessness intervention strategies
3. Descriptive overview of policy landscape
4. Groundwork for accessing data for potential future analysis
5. Individual and small-group interviews with key stakeholders
6. Initial design of facilitated stakeholder discussions
7. Delivery of Report 2 on December 1, 2022

Year 3: January – December 2023

Data analysis, Facilitated Discussions

1. Additional relevant literature review
2. Data analysis
3. Iterative facilitated stakeholder discussions about concerns, barriers, opportunities, and desired principles to elicit ideas for options and recommendations
4. Refine and seek convergence on options and recommendations for a long-term strategy
5. Delivery of Report 3 on December 1, 2023

Year 4: January – June 2024

Presentation and Dissemination of Findings

The project team will be available through June 2024 for follow-up conversations and/or presentations as appropriate.